Review of the Growth of Education in British India

by the

Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission



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PREFATORY NOTE

1 Unless otherwise stated, all figures given in this Review relate to recognised institutions only

2 In the majority of the statistical tables we have omitted to give separate figures for Coorg and for the areas directly administered by the Government of India, such as the North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, etc The total population of the areas in question is not large and the inclusion of the figures for these areas would have made the tables unwieldy Moreover, we have dealt with the directly-administered areas separately in Chapter XV In the statistical tables, the totals for British India include the figures for the areas referred to and therefore differ from the totals for the nine major provinces given in the tables

3 In considering the figures for primary and secondary schools it must be remembered that the classification of those institutions is not uniform throughout British India The Government of India Tables, for example, classify all middle vernacular schools as 'secondary' but classify the higher elementary schools in Madras and the upper primary schools in Bombay as 'primary' In consequence, schools in Madras and Bombay with eight classes are classified as 'primary', while schools in the Punjab with six classes are classified as 'secondary' It is also to be remembered that large numbers of pupils reading in the primary classes of secondary schools are shown as pupils in secondary schools and hence, unless so stated, are not included in the totals of pupils receiving primary education Owing to the present form of the Government of India statistics, it has not been possible to give separate figures for schools in rural and in urban areas, or, in all cases, for girls and for boys

4 Where no date is given in a table, or the year 1927 is given in a table, it is to be understood that the table refers to the financial year ending on 31 March, 1927 In some cases data have been given under the heading '1921-22' or '1926-27' but these data refer to the same periods as those given under the headings '1922' or '1927' respectively

5 In all cases, where calculations with reference to the population relate to a period later than 1921, the calculations are based on the figures in the Census of 1921 Where calculations relate to a period between 1911 and 1921, they are based on the Census of 1911

6 The term 'Memorandum', used without qualifications, means a memorandum on the growth of education supplied specially to the Indian Statutory Commission by a provincial Government

7 The term 'Quinquennial Review', when given without a date, means the quinquennial review for the period 1922-27

8 Throughout the Review the Province of Bihar and Orissa has been referred to as Bihar

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

I —Appointment of Committee and Terms of Reference

1 We, the Members of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, appointed to make enquiries into the growth of education in British India, have the honour to submit our Review

2 The following is the Minute of Appointment of the Committee received from the Indian Statutory Commission —

" The Growth of Education in British India is, by the terms of the Royal Warrant under which the Indian Statutory Commission is constituted, one of the subjects on which the Commission is required to report The Royal Warrant further empowers the Commission to appoint, with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, any person, or persons, to make subordinate enquiries and to report the result to the Commission

With the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, the Commission accordingly appoints—

Sir Philip Hartog, Kt , C I E (Member of the Public Service Commission), Chairman,

Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge, Bart , K C B (formerly Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, England),

Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed, Kt (Vice-Chancellor of Patna University),

Sir George Anderson, Kt , C I E (Director of Public Instruction, Punjab),

Raja Narendra Nath (Member of the Legislative Council of the Punjab),

Mrs Muthulakshmi Reddi (Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council),

to make subordinate enquiries into the growth of education in British India and to report the result to the Commission

The Committee will be designated " The Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education ", and it will be convenient to describe the Report it is asked to make

as the Auxiliary Committee's "Review of the Growth of Education in British India"

The Commission understands its terms of reference regarding Education as requiring from it not a general survey of the whole field of Education in all its branches and aspects throughout British India, but a Review within moderate compass, limited by the general scope and purpose of the broad enquiry with which the Commission is charged The Commission, therefore, regard themselves as primarily concerned with Education and its organisation in British India in relation to political and constitutional conditions and potentialities of progress

It is in this sense, therefore, that the Commission desires the reference to the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education to be interpreted Subject to this, the Committee will be free to pursue its enquiries and to draw up its review in whatever way seems best to it

It is the Commission's intention, without excluding such general evidence as it may receive on the question in the ordinary course of its enquiry, to set apart a portion of the time available during its next visit to India for the special consideration of that part of its terms of reference which deals with the Growth of Education in British India, and it will desire to have the Review of the Auxiliary Committee before it in good time for this purpose After the Committee's Review has been received, and the Commission has had sufficient time to digest its contents, it is hoped that there may be an opportunity for the Commission to discuss the contents of the document, probably in some place in Northern India, with the members of the Auxiliary Committee or some of them In view of the great importance of the subject, the Commission desires to give the Auxiliary Committee the longest time possible for its work, but, on the other hand, it is important that the discussion between the Commission and the Committee on the Committee's Review should take place before the Commission's tour of enquiry has progressed too far For these reasons it is desired that the Auxiliary Committee's Review should be in the hands of the Commission not later than 15th December, 1928 The Review will be treated as confidential in the first instance, but it is contemplated that it will at a later stage form part of the documents published as an Appendix to the Commission's Report"

II —Scope of Enquiry

3 We have borne in mind the specific terms of our reference Those terms imposed on us limitations not altogether easy to define or to observe, since it is clear that the direct aims of schools for boys and girls, and of colleges for young men and women, must be something wider than the aim of producing political capacity, although they should include it A review of the growth of educational institutions which confined itself to the relations of such institutions to political conditions and potentialities of progress would be so narrow as to defeat its own purpose, they must be largely judged by the general aims set before them and by their success in achieving those aims Nevertheless in every country where there is representative government the education given should be such as to produce—

(1) a popular electorate capable of exercising intelligently the primary functions of citizenship they should be able to choose their representatives with knowledge and intelligence, to understand, at any rate to a certain extent, the social and political programmes which are placed before them by candidates for election to legislative and local bodies, and, a subsidiary but important matter, to understand the actual machinery of voting,

(2) a smaller body of persons (included in the larger) capable of furnishing representatives on legislative and local bodies, and officers of central and local administrations, who by their training and character are fitted to fulfil their functions with intelligence, judgment and rectitude

The system of primary and higher primary schools should be so designed as to produce a competent electorate, the system of secondary and higher education, to produce competent and trustworthy representatives and officials

4 A review of the existing educational institutions and their recent progress which took into account only these matters would, as we have suggested be too restricted to be of use, and we have therefore tried to present a general picture of their aims and condition On the other hand we have deliberately and, of necessity, ignored many aspects of education with which we should have been required to deal, had we been asked to make a general survey of the growth of education without the limitations imposed on us

In the general design and scale of our review, we have also kept in mind those limitations We have devoted far more attention to mass education than to secondary and university education, because the condition of the former appeared to us far less satisfactory than that of the latter, and this is due in part to the

fact that while much attention has been paid in the past to a consideration of the higher forms of education, the problems of primary education have been comparatively neglected We have also devoted special attention to the education of girls and women, both because it is so much more backward in India than that of men, and because it is of fundamental importance for the future education and training of men as well as of women

5 We have also tried to investigate the extent to which the educational systems of India are calculated to promote a reasonable degree of uniformity in any advance which may be made so that all sections of the people, rich and poor, progressive and backward, shall be in a position to make their most effective contribution to the progress of the community as a whole. In considering the condition of education in rural areas, we have been greatly assisted by the valuable report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture

6 We have paid special attention to the question of Muhammadan education It is clearly of the first importance that this large community, with its great historic culture and traditions, now an educationally backward community, should be brought up to the general level of advance

7 We have also paid special attention to the educational needs of other communities such as the depressed classes, the Hindus in North-Western India, the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Parsees and Christians

8 In our terms of reference mention is made of the 'organisation' of education Clearly, the adequacy or inadequacy of educational institutions for the work of national education and the success or failure of the teachers who do the actual work must largely depend on the organisation of the educational system as a whole and the agencies by which it is controlled The usefulness of a system of education must be estimated not only by its policy and aims, but by the degree in which it accomplishes what it proposes to do, the degree in which the money and effort expended on it yield an adequate return Without an effective organisation, without a suitable agency, it is not possible for an educational policy, however well-devised it may be, to be carried out with efficiency, economy or continuity We have therefore discussed questions of policy, organisation and agency in some detail

9 In dealing with primary education we have discussed at some length the extent to which literacy is being achieved in the schools, but we wish definitely to safeguard ourselves against the assumption that we regard literacy as a necessary qualification for the franchise Literacy is not education, but only a means to education and in some cases other means may be found to enable an individual to exercise an intelligent vote But it is obvious that it is an immense gain for the average voter himself as well as for the country at large if he is able to read, and to read with

understanding and judgment Literacy is indispensable to education on any large scale

10 In discussing secondary and higher education, though the time has been short, we have been constrained to refer incidentally to the relations between education and subsequent employment To have dealt with this question fully would have been beyond our province, since it involves considerations with which we are not fitted to deal But it has been repeatedly pointed out that a large amount of money and time is now wasted on the production of matriculates and graduates who are unable to find employment, and we have discussed certain changes which might diminish this waste In this connexion we may point out that it has been impossible for us to discuss in any detail questions of professional or technical education although we are fully alive to the great importance of these branches

11 Throughout our Review we have kept in mind that we are asked to deal specifically with the growth of education The term 'growth' implies something more than past history, it implies development, growth in the past provides the basis of a forecast of the 'potentialities of progress' in the future In analysing the facts and figures submitted to us, we have therefore tried to see to what causes the acceleration or retardation of growth in the immediate past have been due, how these causes are likely to operate in the immediate future, and how the healthy growth of education may be promoted by the removal of defects But it was not our duty, nor would it have been possible in the time at our disposal, to attempt to formulate new and comprehensive schemes for the advancement of the various branches of Indian education

12 For the estimate of the growth of education in recent years both in quantity and in quality, we have had supplied to us a vast mass of data by the central and provincial Governments and also by private persons and associations in response to enquiries made by us The facts and figures which we have gathered have been tested as far as possible and elucidated by the examination of witnesses, by personal discussions, and by our visits to educational institutions during our tour, in the course of which we visited all the major provinces of India except Assam and the Central Provinces

13 Finally, we have regarded it as a specific part of our task to consider the effect of the working of the new system of reforms on the growth of education itself Of the marked influence of that system during the past few years there is ample evidence

III —Procedure

14 The appointment of the Committee was announced on 31 May, 1928 The Chairman and the Secretary, Mr R M Statham, I E S , assumed charge of their duties on 5 June and called a

meeting of the members of the Committee present in India, which took place in Simla on 16 and 17 June Two of our number, Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge and Sir George Anderson, were in England at the time and were unable to join the Committee until 12 October At this first meeting the Committee settled the main outlines of the itinerary of their tour in India and Burma, a copy of which is printed as Appendix I to this Review The Committee then dispersed and re-assembled again at Calcutta on 16 September, prior to embarking for Burma, the first province to be visited In the interval, the Chairman took a short period of home leave extending from 7 July to 14 September In his absence the preliminary work of the Committee was carried on by the Secretary

15 The questionnaire printed as Appendix II to this Review was issued during the first week of July, 1928, and was published simultaneously in the press Local Governments were supplied with a large number of copies for their own use and for local distribution, and in addition copies were sent direct to about 600 persons and associations About 300 replies, many of them of a comprehensive nature, were received At the centres visited during our tour and at our headquarters at Delhi, over 160 witnesses gave oral evidence before us, of whom 74 were officials and the rest non-officials A list of the witnesses examined orally is annexed as Appendix III The informal evidence given to us in the course of conversation and discussion with many persons interested in education who were not examined formally has also been of great value

16 We are particularly grateful for the valuable information which we have received from the Government of India and provincial Governments in the form of special Memoranda, and the Quinquennial Reviews on Education of all provinces, which became available during the course of our inquiry We regret that the Quinquennial Review of Education for India, 1922-27, was not available, but the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India was good enough to furnish us in advance with certain tables, prepared for that publication, of which we were in need We are also indebted to these Governments for the information which we called for and obtained from them on many matters and especially that relating to (*a*) the degree of wastage and stagnation which occurs between successive standards in primary and secondary schools in all parts of the country, and (*b*) the number and nature of original publications by members of the staff and students of universities, colleges and research institutions

17 Apart from the recording of evidence tendered to us both orally and in writing, we regarded it as part of our duty to visit, as far as was possible in the time at our disposal, local educational institutions not only in the cities and towns but in rural areas

as well We wish to offer our thanks to the heads of the universities, colleges and schools concerned for the courtesy with which we were received and personally conducted over the institutions in their charge We are also indebted to the kindness of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the officials of the Hyderabad State which permitted three of our members to pay a most interesting visit to the Osmania University

18 We realised at an early stage that it would not be possible for us to complete our Review by 15 December as desired in the letter of our instructions, and took an early opportunity of apprising the Commission of this fact In accordance with the request of the Commission, we furnished in print a preliminary draft of the major portion of the Review, which was discussed at a joint conference of the Commission, the Indian Central Committee and ourselves, held in Calcutta on 16 January Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge was obliged to leave Calcutta for England on the following day

19 Owing to the shortness of the time at our disposal, we were not able to include in our itinerary visits to the Central Provinces, Assam, the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmer-Merwara or Baluchistan We obtained, however, written statements of their views from these local Governments and Administrations We were further given the opportunity of examining witnesses from some of these provinces at centres convenient to them

20 It only remains for us to express our thanks to all those who have assisted us in our work Their number is so great that it is not possible to mention all by name We wish, however, particularly to acknowledge the obligation under which we rest to the Governors of Provinces, and to the Ministers for Education, the Secretaries to Government, and the Directors of Public Instruction, who made all arrangements necessary for our accommodation, the appearance of witnesses, and our visits to local institutions, and who also gave us every opportunity of holding personal discussions with them, with the object of ascertaining their views on the subject of our enquiry We owe a special measure of thanks to the Railway Administrations for the expedition and comfort with which we were conveyed on our journeys, and to the Department of Posts and Telegraphs for the regularity with which our mail was delivered to us at all places along the route We are also indebted to Mr T Carter, Manager of the Government of India Press at Delhi, and his staff for their courtesy in meeting our numerous requests and for the care and expedition with which they printed the Review

21 Our warmest thanks are due to our Secretary, Mr R M Statham, I E S , for the exceptional services which he has rendered to the Committee and without which the accomplishment of their task would have been scarcely possible in the time allotted His remarkable knowledge of the facts and figures of Indian educational

administration and of educational institutions, his gifts as a draftsman, his untiring activity, and his devotion to his work, have been invaluable

We are also indebted to our Assistant Secretaries, Mr K Zachariah, I E S , who helped us greatly in our preliminary drafts and by his skilled analysis of evidence and data, and to Mr. J H Green, M B E , who joined the Committee at a later stage, and rendered to us most competent and devoted assistance Mr Green's experience was of great value to us in our tour and during the preparation of our Review for the press

We desire further to record our appreciation of the zeal and industry with which the other members of our staff have fulfilled their arduous duties

CHAPTER II.

Brief Survey of Indian Educational policy down to the Reforms.

1 In submitting to the Commission facts and figures relating to the growth of education in India, we are limiting ourselves almost entirely to the data of the last decade But in order that the present position may be more easily grasped, we give a brief sketch of the main landmarks in the history of Indian educational policy during the previous hundred years

2 'Education', writes Dr F W Thomas, one of the most distinguished of living Indologists, 'is no exotic in India . There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosophers of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars The immense literature which this long period has produced is thoroughly penetrated with the scholastic spirit, and the same spirit has left a deep impression on the social conditions of the people among whom that literature was produced '

Dr Thomas is speaking of Hindu learning To that must be added the Islamic learning and teaching brought in mainly by the Moghul conquerors To the great Akbar, himself illiterate but not unlearned is attributed a list of subjects which each boy should learn, hardly less formidable than that of Milton *

3 But at the beginning of the 19th century, after a long period of foreign invasions and internecine wars, Indian learning was at a low ebb†, Western education had not been introduced, and there were hardly any printed books either in the classical languages or the vernaculars

There still remained a network of 'indigenous' schools, some of them perhaps the oldest in the world, the *tols* in which Brahmin teachers instructed Brahmin pupils in the sacred books, the philosophy, literature, and science of their forefathers, the *pathsalas* in which elementary knowledge was given to the lower castes, and the corresponding schools of the Muhammadans, the higher schools called *madrasahs*, the lower called *maktabs* The Muslim schools were open to all, and each one taught the Koran and the tenets of Islam But the pupils in all this network were few in number compared to the vast population In Bengal, at any rate, according

* Ain i Akbari (or Institutes of Akbar) by Abul Fazl (book ii, Ain 25) See 'Akbar', by Vincent H Smith, 1917, pp 386 387

† See extract from Minute by Lord Minto (countersigned by H T Colebrooke, the distinguished Orientalist), of 6 March, 1811, reprinted in Selections from Educational Records, Part I, by H Sharp, pp 19 21

to W Adam, an impartial observer, the unfortunate teachers in the elementary schools were as incompetent as they were ill-paid, and the education given was altogether inefficient

4 It was to the revival of Indian learning that the British authorities in India first directed their attention In 1781, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasah, at the request of a Muhammadan deputation, partly, but not solely, with a view to producing Muslim officers for the courts of justice The Sanskrit College at Benares was established by Duncan, the British resident, with the assent of Lord Cornwallis, in 1792 Under the influence of religious enthusiasts in England, who did so much in the early days for education, a clause was inserted in the East India Company's Act of 1813 which enabled the Governor-General to devote not less than a lakh of rupees annually to education It was the first legislative recognition of the right of education to participate in the public revenues *

But again, the money available was mainly spent on the teaching of the Indian classical languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, and on translations into those languages Mass education was not touched, though some encouragement was given to the production of books in English

5 A new impetus was given to education from two sources different in character The first was the 'semi-rationalist' movement led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the great Indian reformer, and David Hare, a Calcutta watchmaker, who, in 1816-17, founded a college which led to the 'springing up all over Bengal' of English schools conducted by its pupils The college itself was absorbed in 1855 into the Presidency College, Calcutta

The second was the Christian missionary movement, which already had ramifications in different parts of India and which has continuously exercised so deep an influence on education in India ever since † The missionaries, by the printing of books in the vernacular, gave an immense spur to the development of vernacular literature and especially of Bengali literature But hand in hand with their study of the vernaculars went the teaching of Western subjects through the medium of English, called in India 'English education'

*The phraseology of the Act is interesting "it shall be lawful for the Governor General in Council to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India"

†Missionary educational effort in India from the 18th and early 19th centuries has been, and it still is, actively supported not only by Britain, but by Portugal, Denmark, Germany and the United States The Catholic missionaries come from all parts of the world

The demand for 'English education' in Bengal preceded by some 20 years any Government action to provide it The old policy prevailed, and in 1823 Ram Mohan Roy, in a famous letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, bitterly attacked the proposal to establish a Sanskrit College in Calcutta as a retrograde step, calculated to keep India in darkness The college was opened in 1824.

6 Committees of Public Instruction were set up in Bengal in 1823, in Madras in 1826, and the Bombay Government, which had founded a Hindu College in Poona in 1821, decided in 1823 to subsidise a Society for the promotion of education, founded a little earlier Inside the Bengal Committee, a bitter struggle soon arose between the 'Orientalists', the partisans of the traditional policy of teaching through the medium of the classical languages, and the 'Anglicists' who wished to teach through the medium of English It was admitted on all sides that the instruction of the mass of the people through the medium of their own language, *i e*, the vernacular, was the ultimate object to be kept in view,* and in one of their annual reports the Committee wrote 'we conceive the formation of a vernacular literature, to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed' † Thomas Munro in Madras, Mountstuart Elphinstone in Bombay, and later, J Thomason in the North West Provinces, advocated no less the encouragement of vernacular teaching

7 The struggle between Orientalists and Anglicists gave rise to the famous Minute of 1835 of Macaulay, then Legal Member of the Executive Council, on the side of the Anglicists, and to the decisive Minutes of two successive Governors-General, Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and Lord Auckland in 1839, endorsing Macaulay's policy The schools for oriental learning were maintained, but the translations into Sanskrit and Arabic were discontinued The system of 'English education' was adopted and encouraged by Government, and developed alongside the vernacular schools

Two other events about this time gave an added stimulus to vernacular education, the conferment of the freedom of the press in 1835, and the substitution of the vernaculars for Persian in the lower courts in 1837 An unfortunate and unforeseen effect of the latter measure was the discouragement of education among Muhammadans, a point with which we shall deal in a later chapter

8 There existed in India a tradition of female education going back to early times But in the early 19th century it was still more backward than that of men The initiative in modern education

* The point is sometimes overlooked by the critics of educational policy in India.

† See Trevelyan's Education of the People of India, pages 21—25

for women was taken by missionary societies in the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras It was supported by Hare and by Raja Ram Mohan Roy In 1824, Lady Amherst consented to be patroness of a society for native female education in Calcutta and its vicinity The establishment of a girls' school in Calcutta in May, 1849, by J E Drinkwater Bethune, like Macaulay, Legal Member of Council, and his conversion of Lord Dalhousie to his views at this time mark a turning point in the history of women's education in India

The fear was expressed that the new policy might seriously offend Indian sentiment, but in April, 1850, Lord Dalhousie informed the Bengal Council of Education that it was henceforward to consider its functions as comprising the superintendence of native female education These instructions were approved by the Court of Directors of the East India Company *

9 The next great step in the history of Indian education is marked by the parliamentary enquiry into the condition of India in 1853 which preceded the confirmation of the Company's Charter. For the first time Parliament investigated seriously and sympathetically the development of Indian education The evidence submitted to committees of the Lords and Commons formed the basis of Sir Charles Wood's epoch-making education despatch of 1854, which determined the whole subsequent course of Indian educational development †

10 Up to this time the East India Company had regarded a direct attack on the problem of mass education as an impossibility. They thought that the only means of reaching the masses was by educating the literary classes who were comparatively few in number, and letting education 'filter down' through them, a theory generally known as the 'filtration theory'

To adopt this theory was to ignore the vast obstacles to such 'filtration' arising out of Indian class and caste distinctions The despatch of 1854 first imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the university

11 In order to carry out its policy the despatch prescribed the following measures —the constitution in each presidency and lieutenant-governorship of a separate department for the administration of education with an adequate system of inspection, the institution of universities in the Presidency towns, the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools, the mainte-

* See Chapter on the Beginnings of Female Education in Selections from Educational Records, by J A Richey, 1922

† Sir Charles Wood, later Viscount Halifax, was at the time President of the Board of Control

nance of the existing government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number where necessary, increased attention to vernacular schools, both for secondary and for primary education, and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid The despatch laid great stress on the importance of encouraging the study of the vernaculars as the only possible media for mass education, and recommended the institution of a comprehensive system of scholarships to connect all grades of the educational system The despatch further expressed sympathy for the causes of female education and Muhammadan education, advocated the opening of schools and colleges for technical instruction, and insisted on a policy of perfect religious neutrality It should be added that the despatch looked forward to a time when any general system of education provided by government might be gradually discontinued with the advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when the management, especially of the higher institutions, might be handed over to local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State .

In a despatch of 1859, that is, after the passing of the Act of 1858 which transferred the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, the Secretary of State confirmed the policy of 1854, reviewed the progress made since that date and advocated the adoption of further steps for the promotion of primary education, including the levy of a special rate on the land to provide adequate means for financing vernacular education We may regard all subsequent changes as a development of the policy then laid down rather than as departures therefrom

12 The years immediately subsequent to 1854 witnessed the establishment of Departments of Public Instruction in all the provinces, the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and a rapid growth in the number of schools and colleges, some government institutions, others private, aided or unaided, all over India Far greater interest was taken in the promotion of secondary education than of primary

13 In 1871, the control of the Education Departments was made over to local Governments with a fixed assignment from central revenues But this did not imply a cessation of interest in the subject on the part of the central Government or the abandonment of the right to make further grants for education from central revenues

14 In 1882, Government appointed an Education Commission to review the progress of education since 1854 (excluding university education and certain other branches) * Primary education was put in the forefront of the reference The Commission endorsed the policy of the despatch of 1854, and their recommendations aimed

* The Commission was presided over by Dr W W Hunter, and is generally known as the Hunter Commission

at a more complete fulfilment of that policy A Government Resolution of 1884 approved of nearly the whole of the recommendations of the Commission The elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, was stated to require 'strenuous efforts of the State in a still larger measure than heretofore' The proposals of the Commission which have had most effect on subsequent government policy were those relating to the expansion of primary education and its management by the local bodies set up under the local self-government acts of Lord Ripon's Government in the years 1883 to 1885, the development of the grant-in-aid system, and the stimulation of private enterprise

15 In 1900, the Secretary of State drew the attention of the Government of India to the necessity for the continuance of government control, guidance and assistance in higher education In 1901, Lord Curzon summoned an educational conference which was followed by the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, the publication of a Resolution on Indian Educational Policy in March, 1904, and the passing of an Indian Universities Act in the same year

The Resolution of 1904 covered a wide field On the main question of the control of education, it accepted the devolution policy of the Commission of 1882, but laid stress on the necessity for adequate safeguards, as shewn by the following passage —

> "The progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith was recommended by the Education Commission in 1883, and the advice has been generally acted upon But while accepting this policy, the Government of India at the same time recognise the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions, both as models for private enterprise to follow and in order to uphold a high standard of education In withdrawing from direct management, it is further essential that Government should retain a general control, by means of efficient inspection, over all public educational institutions."

The Resolution reiterated the views of the Commission of 1882 in regard to the importance of primary education, declared that it had received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds, and that 'primary education should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues' The Resolution directed that the educational budget estimates of local bodies should be submitted through Directors of Public Instruction before sanction, and that

every effort should be made to adapt the teaching in rural schools to the needs of the agricultural community

With regard to secondary education, the Resolution advocated varied curricula to correspond to the varying needs of practical life, the continuance of the study of the vernaculars throughout the school-course, and the holding of a School-Final examination at its termination

The Resolution further dealt with technical, commercial and agricultural education and schools of art, with the extension of facilities for the training of teachers, with hostels for schools and colleges It endorsed the view that 'through female education a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men'

It also endorsed the main recommendations of the Commission of 1902, relating to the universities, *viz* , that the Senates should be limited in size, that the universities should be given teaching powers in addition to their examining powers and that they should be required to demand a high educational standard from their affiliated colleges, it promised further financial aid to the universities, and it expressed the hope that the universities might receive funds from private donors The policy of the Commission and Government with regard to universities was embodied in the Universities Act of 1904

16 In 1910, Government showed their sense of the increasing importance of education from the imperial point of view by transferring the subject from the Home Department to a new Department of Education At the Durbar of 1911-12 of His Majesty the King Emperor, Government announced, at his desire, an annual grant from imperial funds of 50 lakhs for popular education, and His Majesty, in January, 1912, in replying to an address from the Calcutta University, said —

> "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries, and agriculture, and all the vocations in life And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart "

17 In 1911, the late Mr G K Gokhale introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council an important bill for the extension of elementary education which would have made compulsory primary

education permissive, that is, subject to the consent of the local authorities and local Governments The cost was to be found from local and provincial funds The bill was circulated and the matter was discussed again in March, 1912 "The bill was officially opposed on the grounds that there had been no popular demand for the measure, that the local Governments were opposed to it, and that the weight, though not the majority, of non-official opinion was also hostile, while the idea of additional local taxation was strongly opposed. But Sir Harcourt Butler hinted on behalf of Government that the introduction of measures of compulsion in local legislatures would be the natural course "*

18 The Education Resolution of the Government of India of 1913, after quoting the passage from the King-Emperor's speech printed above, announced that Government had decided to assist local Governments by large grants, as funds became available, to extend comprehensive schemes of education in the several provinces

Like its predecessor, the Resolution again surveyed the whole field of educational work It stated that 'in the forefront of their policy the Government of India desire to place the formation of the character of the scholars and undergraduates under tuition' The other main features of the Resolution may be summarised as follows —

(i) It refused to adopt the principle of compulsion in primary education for financial and administrative reasons, but it reaffirmed the necessity of concentrating the direct energies of the State and the bulk of its available resources on the improvement and expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis

(ii) It advocated the teaching of hygiene, and the medical inspection of schools

(iii) It insisted on the importance of improving and multiplying the 'middle' vernacular schools, which continue the primary course and in which competent teachers for primary schools will be prepared

(iv) It urged the necessity of multiplying and improving facilities for the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools

(v) It reported that the 'education of girls remains to be organised', and emphasised the necessity for the increase of women teachers in girls' schools

* See Quinquennial Reviews on Progress of Education in India for 1907 1912, Vol I, pp 131—134, and for 1912 1917, Vol I, pp 123—125

It is shown in Chapter IV that the prevision of Sir Harcourt Butler has been fulfilled

(vi) It reaffirmed the policy of relying mainly on private effort in secondary education with the assistance of a more elastic system of grants-in-aid, and the encouragement of varied methods of teaching and courses

(vii) It endorsed the recommendation of the Universities Commission of 1902 that there should be secondary 'school-final' examinations, conducted by bodies other than universities

(viii) It recognised the necessity for improving the pay and prospects of teachers in the educational services

(ix) It reported an improvement in the condition of the five existing Indian universities (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and the University of the Punjab) as a result of the Act of 1904, but advocated a reduction of the areas of these affiliating universities and the establishment of 'teaching faculties' at their centres with adequate libraries, it announced a policy of instituting teaching and residential universities of which Dacca, Benares and Aligarh were to be the first, and it strongly urged the necessity for providing facilities for research in every branch of learning

19 The policy outlined in the Resolution of 1913 materially encouraged progress in the provinces but the educational developments foreshadowed were in many cases delayed owing to the great war The war had, however, another effect on the educational policy of the Government of India It was felt that the time had come for a policy of political reform and for a greater devolution of responsibilities on Indians, and that the Indian universities were not then giving the right type of education for the directing classes. It was with a view to the improvement of that education that Government in 1917 set up the Calcutta University Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler, which reported in 1919

20 Under the system in existence in 1917, when the Calcutta University Commission was appointed that University, the largest in India, controlled in effect almost the whole of education above the primary grade in a province containing over 40 million inhabitants The Report of the Commission necessarily covered a wide field and its criticisms and recommendations, which were endorsed almost in their entirety by the Government of India in a Resolution of January, 1920, have profoundly influenced the development of secondary and university education all over India We shall discuss certain results of the Report in later chapters

21. In conclusion, we have to point out that with the Reforms of 1920, education became a 'transferred' subject, confided almost entirely to the care of the provinces. There still exists, however, an imperial department of 'Education, Health and Lands' with certain limited functions, and also, on a precarious basis, the office of Educational Commissioner for India. The imperial 'Bureau of Education' was discontinued in 1922 and an All-India Advisory Board of Education, set up in 1920, was discontinued in 1924. We shall discuss these matters subsequently. It may be said broadly that, apart from certain matters of detail, the Government of India have, since the Reforms, regarded all responsibility for educational policy as devolved on the separate provinces, and that an educational policy for India as a whole no longer exists. It is only from a survey of all the provincial reports, or their summary, as recorded in the Quinquennial Reviews of Education still published by the Government of India, that any general impression of the guiding principles of Indian education and of its growth can be obtained. It is to that survey that we now turn.

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CHAPTER III.

Statistical Data and Indications of Progress.

I —Statistical Data

1 The following Tables give the more important statistical data relating to the growth of education and of educational expenditure during the years 1917 to 1927 in British India and the provinces

According to the Census of 1921, the total population of British India in that year was 247,333,423, composed of 127,044,953 males and 120,288,470 females

TABLE I

Percentage of total population receiving instruction in recognised institutions

——	1917.	1922	1927	Increase in percentages between		
				1917 22	1922-27.	1917 27
Percentage of males.	4 85	5 04	6 91	0 19	1 87	2 06
Percentage of females	0 97	1 12	1 46	0 15	0 34	0·49
Percentage of total ..	2 96	3 13	4 26	0 17	1 13	1 30

TABLE II.

Total number of recognised educational institutions and enrolment

——	1917	1922.	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922-27	1917-27.
Total number of recognised institutions	154,952	173,311	211,048	11 84	21 77	36 19
Total number of pupils in recognised institutions	7,207,308	7,742,225	10,529,350	7 42	35 99	46 09

TABLE III

Total number of unrecognised institutions and enrolment.

	1917.	1922.	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922-27	1917 27.
Total number of unrecognised institutions	37,803	34,807	35,216	—7·93	1 18	—6 84
Total number of pupils in unrecognised institutions	644,638	639,125	628,146	— 86	—1 72	—2 56

TABLE IV

Number of pupils according to sex in recognised institutions

	1917	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922-27	1917-27
Males .	6,050,561	6,401,383	8,777,743	5 80	37 12	45 07
Females	1,156,717	1,340,842	1,751,607	15 91	30 63	51 43

TABLE V

Pupils according to sex in unrecognised institutions

	1917.	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922 27	1917-27
Males	570,687	561,545	537,401	—1 6	—4 2	—5·8
Females	73,951	77,580	90,745	4·9	. 16 9	22 7

TABLE VI

Number of pupils in recognised institutions according to stages of instruction

Stage.	1917	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917-22	1922-27	1917 27.
College .	57,972	58,837	83,890	1 50	42 58	44 71
High	216,160	218,606	236,781	1 13	8 31	9 54
Middle	385,372	434,810	631,490	12 83	45 23	63·87
Primary ..	6,404,200	6,897,147	9,247,617	7 70	34 08	44·40
Special	143,604	132,739	328,620	—7 57	147·57	128·83
	7,207,308	7,742,139*	10,528,398*			

* Owing to slight differences in the Government of India Tables, these figures do not exactly correspond to the figures given in Table II.

TABLE VII

Total expenditure, direct and indirect, in respect of recognised institutions

1917.	1922	1927.	Percentage of increase between		
			1917 22	1922-27	1917 27.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs			
11,28,83,068	18,37,52,969	24,58,47,572	62 79	33 79	117 79

TABLE VIII

Provision for total direct and indirect expenditure in respect of recognised institutions

Year	from Government Funds	from Board Funds	Total from Public Funds	from Fees	from Other Sources*
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1917	3,91,62,853	2,23,17,618	6,14,80,471	3,18,71,138	1,95,31,459
1922	9,02,30,028	2,47,31,150	11,49,61,178	3,80,08,648	3,07,83,143
1927	11,93,32,854	3,65,91,114	15,59,23,968	5,21,27,191	3,77,96,413
Percentage of increase between					
1917-1922	130 31	10 81	86 99	19 26	57 61
1922 1927	32 25	47 96	35 63	37 15	22 78
1917 1927	204 71	63 96	153 62	63 56	93 52

TABLE IX

Total expenditure in respect of recognised institutions according to objects

—	1917	1922	1927.
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Arts Colleges	71,03,748	1,10,42,338	1,45,84,918
Professional Colleges	35,99,418	59,77,514	76,35,792
Secondary Schools	3,19,29,182	4,87,26,905	6,61,94,390
Primary Schools	2,93,13,545	5,09,08,107	6,95,21,696
Training Schools	28,63,810	58,64,100	56,31,295
† Other special Schools	44,77,116	78,37,494	1,16,61,237
† Universities	25,51,925	73,40,578	1,00,53,859
Direction	8,92,263	13,99,110	15,55,351
Inspection	49,64,587	79,36,408	87,46,706
Scholarships	21,65,718	31,76,089	
Buildings	1,37,08,740	1,97,60,544	2,77,25,177
Miscellaneous	93,13,016	1,37,83,782	2,25,37,151‡
Total	11,28,83,063	18,37,52,969	24,58,47,572

* Including subscriptions, endowments, etc

† These terms are explained in the Glossary on page 373

NOTE —The figures for the expenditure on "Universities" include expenditure on arts and professional colleges managed directly by universities

‡ Includes expenditure on scholarships

TABLE X.

Total number of male pupils in recognised institutions by provinces

Province and male population (in millions)	1917	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922-27	1917-27
Madras (20 9)	1,229,914	1,378,159	1,915,177	12 1	39 0	55 7
Bombay (10 2)	604,701	721,798	900,311	19 3	24 7	48·9
Bengal (24 2)	1,565,712	1,496,439	1,873,461	—4 4	25 2	19 7
United Provinces (23 8)	742,134	871,750	1,161,235	17 5	33 2	56 5
Punjab (11 3)	366,142	489,755	996,570	33 8	103 5	172 2
Burma (6 8)	273,192	228,951	277,109	—16 2	21 0	1·4
Bihar and Orissa (16 8)	688,180	657,596	949,711	—4 4	44 4	38 0
Central Provinces (7 0)	312,322	292,291	349,264	—6 4	19 5	11·8
Assam (4 0)	197,096	181,206	235,742	—8 1	30 0	19 6
North West Frontier Province (1 2)	37,946	44,748	56,436	18 0	26 1	48 7
Minor Administrations						
Coorg (0 1)	Not	available	6,273	.	.	.
Delhi (0 3)	„	„	20,081		.	.
Ajmer Merwara (0 3)	„	„	10,651			..
Baluchistan (0 2)	„	„	4,603	..	..	.
Bangalore (0 06)	„	„	8,179	.	.	..
Other Administrative Areas	„	„	13,000		..	.
Total for Minor Administrations.	33,222	38,780	62,787	16 7	61 9	89 0
Total for British India (127 0)	6,050,561	6,401,383	8,777,743	5 8	37 1	45·1

TABLE XI.

Total number of female pupils in recognised institutions by provinces

Province and female population (in millions)	1917.	1922	1927.	Percentage of increase between		
				1917-22	1922 27	1917 27.
Madras (21 4)	307,125	367,359	525,697	19 6	43 1	71·2
Bombay (9 2)	134,684	175,079	215,859	30 0	23 3	60·2
Bengal (22 5)	289,800	338,578	416,415	1 6 8	23 0	43 7
United Provinces (21 6)	63,286	93,309	119,215	47 4	27 8	88 4
Punjab (9 4)	54,901	62,867	89,517	14 5	42 4	63 1
Burma (6 4)	120,207	116,714	166,193	—2 9	42 4	38 2
Bihar and Orissa (17 2)	109,291	105,771	115,785	—3 2	9 5	5 9
Central Provinces (7)	36,769	38,390	42,359	4 5	10 3	15 3
Assam (3 6)	27,723	26,808	34,691	—3 3	29 4	25 1
North-West Frontier Province (1 0)	3,287	4,647	6,800	41 3	46 3	106 9
Minor Administrations.						
Coorg (0 07)	Not	available	2,648	.	..	..
Delhi (0 2)	„	„	4,485		..	
Ajmer Merwara (0 2)	„	„	1,622		..	.
Baluchistan (0 2)	„	„	870		.	.
Bangalore (0 05)	„	„	5,206			.
Other Administrative Areas	„	„	4,245		..	
Total for Minor Administrations	9,701	11,320	19,076	16 7	68 5	96 6
Total for British India (120)	1,156,747	1,340,842	1,751,607	15 9	30 6	51 4

TABLE XII

Total number of pupils in recognised institutions by provinces

Province	1917	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922 27	1917 27.
Madras	1,537,039	1,745,518	2,440,874	13·6	39 8	58 8
Bombay	739,385	896,877	1,116,170	21 3	24 4	51 0
Bengal	1,855,512	1,835,017	2,289,876	—1 1	24 8	23 4
United Provinces	805,420	965,059	1,280,450	19 8	32 7	59 0
Punjab	421,043	552,622	1,086,087	31 3	96 5	158 0
Burma	393,399	345,665	443,302	—12 1	28 2	12 7
Bihar and Orissa	797,471	763,277	1,065,496	—4 3	39 6	33 6
Central Provinces	349,061	330,681	391,623	—5 3	18 4	12 2
Assam	224,819	208,014	270,433	—7 5	30 0	20 3
North West Frontier Province	41,233	49,395	63,076	19 8	27 7	53 0
Minor Administrations						
Coorg	Not available	8,564	8,921	..	4 2	..
Delhi	„	14,986	24,566		63 9	
Ajmer-Merwara	„	10,247	12,273	..	19·8	..
Baluchistan	„	4,149	5,473	.	31 9	
Bangalore	„	12,154	13,385	.	10·1	.
Other Administrative Areas	„	..	17,245	..	.	
Total for Minor Administrations	42,926	50,100	81,863	16 7	63 4	90·7
Total for British India	7,207,308	7,742,225	10,529,350	7 4	36·0	46 1

TABLE XIII

Total number of recognised institutions by provinces

Province	1917	1922	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922 27	1917 27.
Madras	31,340	37,290	50,943	18 9	36 6	62 5
Bombay	11,388	13,310	14,819	16·9	11 3	30 1
Bengal	46,104	51,929	58,833	12 6	13 3	27 6
United Provinces	12,912	18,559	22,068	43 7	18 9	70 9
Punjab	6,442	7,920	13,860	22 9	75 0	115 2
Burma	9,564	7,180	6,885	—24 9	—4 1	—28 0
Bihar and Orissa	26,867	25,965	31,495	—3 4	21 3	17 2
Central Provinces	4,503	4,921	5,187	9 3	5 4	15 2
Assam	4,587	4,745	5,331	3 5	12 3	16 2
North West Frontier Province	685	792	747	15 6	—5 7	9·1
Minor Administrations						
Coorg	Not available.	113	112	.	—0 9	..
Delhi	Do	205	259		26 3	.
Ajmer Merwara	Do	187	198		5 9	..
Baluchistan .	Do	82	94		14 6	.
Bangalore . .	Do	113	101	...	—10 6	..
Other Administrative Areas	Do	.	116			...
Total for Minor Administrations	560	700	880	25 0	25 7	57 1
Total for British India	154,952	173,311	211,048	11 9	21 8	36 2

TABLE XIV

Total direct and indirect expenditure on recognised institutions by provinces

Province	1917	1922.	1927	Percentage of increase between		
				1917 22	1922-27	1917 27
	Rs	Rs	Rs			
Madras	2,16,87,896	3,39,98,292	4,52,72,432	56 8	33 2	108 7
Bombay	1,55,88,759	2,96,02,944	3,82,63,286	89 9	29 3	145 5
Bengal	2,43,11,786	3,33,87,106	3,97,76,068	37 3	19 1	63 6
United Provinces	1,47,45,922	2,98,13,563	3,37,79,166	102 1	13 3	129 1
Punjab ..	1,08,63,320	1,89,62,287	2,87,65,763	74 6	51 7	164 8
Burma	66,79,145	1,01,64,870	1,93,83,804	52 2	90·7	190 2
Bihar and Orissa	81,52,080	1,15,16,347	1,77,42,059	41 3	54 1	117 6
Central Provinces.	48,96,316	81,26,933	1,13,63,933	66 0	39 8	132 1
Assam	25,59,290	34,83,928	43,84,150	36 1	25 8	71·3
North-West Frontier Province	10,30,628	17,39,504	20,76,785	68·8	19 4	101·5
Minor Administrations						
Coorg	Not available	1,43,031	2,24,953			..
Delhi	„	12,77,454	17,05,549	..		..
Ajmer Merwara	„	6,41,359	6,32,906	.		
Baluchistan	„	3,06,701	4,79,216			.
Bangalore	„	5,88,350	8 30,364		.	.
Other Administrative Areas	„	.	11,67,138	.	.	..
Total Minor Administrations.	23,67,926	29,57,195	50,40,126	24 9	70 4	112 8
Total British India	11,28,83,063	18,37,52,969	24,58,47,572	62 8	33 8	117 8

II —Indications of progress

2 **Rapid Growth.**—From the foregoing Tables it appears that in the last ten years there has been rapid growth in the volume of education as measured by numbers of institutions and pupils and that this growth is becoming more rapid In 1920 and 1921, the non-co-operation movement caused a serious set-back which is reflected in the figures for 1922, but expansion in the next five years was greater than in any preceding period While between 1917 and 1922 the number of pupils in all institutions increased by approximately half a million, between 1922 and 1927 the number increased by nearly three millions If the rate of growth were uniform, the percentage of increase would gradually diminish, but up to the present it has greatly increased In the first period it was 7·42, in the second 35 99 Of a total increased enrolment of 6¾ millions during the last thirty years more than one-third was added in the five years ending with 1927

The growth has been distributed over all the different fields of education The percentage of increase between 1917 and 1927 in the primary stage was 44 4, in the middle stage 63·87, in the high stage 9 54 and in the collegiate stage 44 71. The number of male pupils increased by 45 1 per cent and the number of female pupils by 51 43 per cent Every province showed an increase in the number of pupils, ranging for male pupils from 1 4 per cent in Burma to 172·2 per cent in the Punjab; and in the number of female pupils from 5 9 per cent. in Bihar to 88 4 per cent in the United Provinces

3 The figures in Table I show that in 1917, 4 85 per cent of the male population was at school, in 1927 as many as 6 91 per cent Between 1922 and 1927 there was an increase of 1 87 per cent in the ratio of male pupils to the total male population as against an increase of only 0 19 in the previous period Of the female population, 1 46 per cent were at school in 1927, an increase of 0 49 per cent over the figure for 1917

4 The figures given for the ratio of pupils under instruction to the total population both for the years 1917 and 1927 are somewhat too high, since they are calculated on the Census figures of population for 1911 and 1921 respectively, and do not allow for the increase of population between 1911 and 1917, or between 1921 and 1927

5 In estimating the significance of these figures, it should be remembered that where an educational system is young and undeveloped it tends to expand more rapidly than by arithmetical progression The larger the number of educated people, the stronger becomes the demand for education Since nearly three

million pupils were added between 1922 and 1927, it is probable that if no financial or other checks come into operation four or five millions more will be added between 1927 and 1932

6 Corresponding to the increase in the number of pupils there has been an increase in the total expenditure on education during the past ten years of over 13 crores, the expenditure on primary schools increasing by over 4 crores, on secondary schools by over $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores and on universities and arts and professional colleges by over $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores The rapidity with which the total expenditure on education has grown in recent years can be illustrated by the fact that the total expenditure from Government funds during the year 1926-27 was larger than the total expenditure from all sources in 1916-17, and that Government funds alone contributed 204 7 per cent more in 1927 than in 1917 (see Table VIII)

7 It is a fair inference from the figures of expenditure that the interest in education is not merely theoretical but practical, and that the country is now prepared to an increasing extent to make sacrifices for the cause of education In most provinces, the legislatures at the initiative of ministers have been both willing and eager to sanction increased educational expenditure It has even been said of one provincial council that it never refused a demand for educational purposes, and, if the same could not be said of other provinces, the reason was not their lack of interest in education Nor is it only the legislatures that have granted money willingly, the local bodies have, in many cases, devoted a large part of their own local funds to education Nearly Rs 366 lakhs are now spent from district board and municipal funds on education

8 We shall show, in later chapters, that the number of pupils under instruction has increased not only among the upper class Hindus, but equally or even more strikingly among Muhammadans, whose educational backwardness has been a factor of great political importance, and also among the backward and depressed classes

9 **Diminution of obstacles.**—Concurrently with the numerical expansion there has been a slow, but steady, break-down of the obstacles that stood in the way of the spread of education The isolation of rural areas and the difficulties imposed by distance on the extension of education are gradually being lessened by the building of new roads and railways, and by the provision of motor services, which are linking up even remote villages with the main streams of life and activity The age of marriage is gradually rising and there are powerful movements on foot to raise the age of consent and to mitigate the rigour of the custom of purdah The conservative and orthodox prejudices against education are not nearly as strong as they were a generation ago The active opposition to the spread of education which existed among

several classes of the community has largely disappeared, although apathy and indifference still persist

10 **Increased demand for, and interest in, education.**—Again, there is a wider demand for education in the country than the figures indicate, a demand which, in certain places, has outrun the provision This is true even of a backward province like the N -W F Province Education has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building' The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education Communities which had for long been educationally backward, like the Muhammadan community, have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right

11 There is also evidence that educated women now realise the importance of the education of their sisters for the uplifting of their sex and for the welfare of the country, and that the barriers which for so long denied to most women the opportunity for education are being assailed from within as well as from without

12 There is again much evidence that in the last few years those responsible for the development of the Indian educational system have shown themselves alive to the imperative necessity of facing its problems, of estimating their magnitude and of devising practical measures for their gradual solution The quinquennial reviews and special memoranda which we have received from the provincial Governments are, generally speaking, very candid documents and the fact is encouraging that these Governments have not shrunk from stating to themselves and emphasising the obstacles and defects with which they have to contend There has been a great awakening to the need for improvement both in the quality of the education provided and in the conditions which determine the working of educational institutions In many provinces comprehensive measures of reform, whether by way of legislation or otherwise, are under consideration, and steps have been taken to deal with unsatisfactory features of the system New agencies of local or institutional control have been established A new type of university organisation has been created, facilities for professional and technical training have been extended and made more varied, the methods of training teachers have in some

provinces been overhauled and made more effective, the pay and conditions of service of teachers have been improved, curricula have been recast and widened, and unrecognised schools have been drawn into the public system

13 It may be fairly said that in this period the vital problems of Indian education have been more closely and candidly studied than before As will appear from later chapters, the process of constructing the educational edifice cannot but be difficult, laborious and slow, and foundations will have to be relaid or strengthened Great calls will be made on the ingenuity and industry of architect, contractor and workman, and more money will be essential But the will to consider what is necessary, if not universal, is at all events prevalent, and if it results in sustained and consistent action there is good hope for the future

14 Workers in the field of education in India have, we are convinced, admirable material to deal with · the Indian boy and the Indian girl are not lacking in innate intelligence and in capacity to benefit by that training of body, mind and character which a well-planned system of education can give

CHAPTER IV.

Mass Education.

I —Control and Management

1 **Control.***—In all provinces except Madras, where there are *ad hoc* bodies, the control of primary education is divided between Government and the local bodies The extent to which the responsibility of controlling and making full provision for primary education has been placed on local bodies will be analysed and discussed in a later chapter It is sufficient here briefly to indicate the manner in which primary schools are recognised, aided and inspected in the provinces

In *Madras*, a separate *ad hoc* body, called a District Education Council, has been established for each district. This body, which consists of a few nominees of the Governor-in-Council and of a majority elected by school managements and by local bodies, recognises all elementary schools, assesses and distributes grants-in-aid to privately managed elementary schools, prepares schemes for the expansion and development of elementary education and advises the Education Department and local bodies on all matters connected with elementary education All elementary schools are inspected by the officers of the Education Department

In *Bombay*, each district board and each of the larger municipalities has a school board which is generally responsible for the control of primary education and for the management of local board schools The school boards consist of members elected by the local bodies and of representatives of minorities, educational experts and women, together with a few nominees of Government The school boards recognise and aid privately managed schools and maintain their own inspecting staff All primary schools, however, are open to inspection by the officers of the Education Department

In *Bengal*, all primary schools are recognised and inspected by the officers of the Education Department Grant-in-aid to privately managed primary schools is distributed by district boards and municipalities from funds placed at their disposal by Government

* More details are given in Chapter XVI, paras 35 to 88, with regard to the control of provincial Governments and local bodies, and in Chapter XIV, para 23, with regard to the financing of mass education

In the *United Provinces* education committees of local bodies are responsible for the maintenance, recognition and aid of all primary schools The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspects all primary schools, but the subordinate inspecting officers of the Department are subject to the general control of the chairmen of the education committees

In the *Punjab*, the local bodies maintain, or recognise and aid, all primary schools, but all schools are inspected by the departmental officers

In *Burma*, the control of primary education is in the hands of the local authorities who may be either committees of municipal councils or district school boards or deputy commissioners in areas where there are no local bodies These local authorities recognise all primary schools and give grant-in-aid to privately managed primary schools All schools are inspected by the departmental officers

In *Bihar and Orissa*, education committees of local bodies maintain and manage all public schools and distribute grant-in-aid to privately managed schools The recognition and inspection of all schools are vested in the departmental officers

In the *Central Provinces*, the control of boys' primary education is in the hands of local bodies, but Government has retained responsibility for the primary education of girls All schools are inspected by the departmental officers but in four districts the deputy inspectors of schools have been transferred to the service of the local bodies as an experimental measure

In *Assam*, all schools are recognised and inspected by the departmental officers Grant-in-aid to privately managed schools is given by the local bodies in the plains, but by Government in the hills

In two provinces, the *United Provinces* and *Burma*, there is a Board of Vernacular Education which advises Government on all matters connected with vernacular education

2 **Management.**—The following Table shows the number of primary schools in the provinces according to management. It will be noticed that in Madras, Bengal and Bihar primary schools are mainly provided by aided agencies, while in the other provinces they are mainly provided by local boards

TABLE XV

Total number of primary institutions by management and provinces

Province	Government	District Board	Municipal Board	Aided	Unaided	Total
		For Males				
Madras	1,690	12,306	1,130	28,815	2,448	46,389
Bombay	29	8,934	1,057	2,193	87	12,300
Bengal	97	3,616	167	29,994	4 323	38,197
United Provinces	14	13,759	737	4,201	107	18,818
Punjab	15	4,459	260	986	192	5,912
Burma	24	14	2	3,873	*Nil*	3,913
Bihar and Orissa	114	2,213	287	20,861	3,982	27,457
Central Provinces	9	3,419	302	317	142	4,189
Assam	184	3,131	35	723	304	4,377
British India	2,347	52,528	4,070	92,104	11,617	1,62,666
		For Females				
Madras	33	1,677	367	1,235	87	3,399
Bombay	5	674	509	335	12	1,535
Bengal	22	185	51	11,533	2,821	14,612
United Provinces	18	808	195	544	15	1,580
Punjab	6	586	204	357	79	1,232
Burma	*Nil*	1	1	604	*Nil*	606
Bihar and Orissa	6	98	55	2,380	251	2,790
Central Provinces	241	7	4	60	22	334
Assam	*Nil*	321	15	20	53	409
British India	345	1,396	1,442	17,149	3,550	26,682

The number of classes in primary schools and the length of the primary course vary between province and province The following Table shows the number of classes in the primary schools in the different provinces —

TABLE XVI

Number of classes in primary schools by provinces

	Lower elementary schools	Higher elementary schools.
Madras	5	8
Bombay	5	8
	Lower primary schools.	Upper primary schools
Bengal	3	5
United Provinces	3	3
Punjab		4
Burma	2	4
Bihar and Orissa	3	5
Central Provinces		4
Assam	2	4

II —Obstacles to progress necessity for good administration

3 In all countries those who are responsible for educational policy have to take into account conditions and influences which are largely beyond their control and which often complicate their plans and make the execution of them difficult, and while some of them are diminishing, others are persistent, and plans for the advancement of education must be adjusted to them It may be fair to criticise such plans on the ground that they are badly designed and inadequate, that they leave too much to chance and do not provide the necessary safeguards for their success, but it is not fair to criticise them because either their aim or their accomplishment is lower than in countries where the fundamental obstacles are less

In summarising and referring to those obstacles, both here and elsewhere, it is far from our intention to suggest that nothing can be done or has been done to overcome them The moral which we should wish to be drawn is that in India, perhaps more than elsewhere, progress in popular education depends on good administration, the careful adjustment of plans to actual circumstances and the direction of enthusiasm into profitable channels

4 The problem of mass education in British India is preponderantly a rural problem Only 12 9 per cent of the population of 247 millions live in towns, as compared with 79 per cent. in England and Wales, 51 per cent in the U S A , 42 2 per cent in France and 45 6 per cent in Germany In British India, 74 4 per cent of the population is dependent on agricultural or pastoral pursuits, 10 1 per cent on industries and 5 5 per cent on trade There are only 29 cities with a population of 100,000 or over (Bombay and Calcutta have each over a million), and 2,100 towns with a population of between 5,000 and 100,000, while the number of villages is not far short of half a million Of the total village population over 179,000,000 live in villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants Over 360,000 villages in British India have a population of under 500 inhabitants, and their aggregate population is approximately 70 millions

5 Primary education in towns is comparatively easy to provide, organise and make efficient Schools and staffs are larger, good teachers are easier to secure, and adequate supervision and inspection can be more easily provided It is less difficult to cater for the needs of particular communities or classes On the other hand, sites and proper 'elbow room' for schools cost more

In rural areas school units are usually small, adequate staffing is more expensive, the conditions of life are not attractive to teachers unless they are specially selected and trained, women teachers cannot, as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable, the teachers are isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection are much greater, and it is more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attendance of children

6 In India, the great majority of parents who live on the land are poor, and their poverty is aggravated by improvidence and debt Being illiterate and having an outlook confined almost entirely to their own surroundings and the daily routine of life, much persuasion is needed to convince them of the advantage of sending their children to school and keeping them there long enough to receive effective education, however rudimentary Even if schooling is free or school fees are small, the temptation to take a child away from school as soon as he is old enough to mind cattle or goats (which in an unfenced country has to be done by somebody) is great

In India, more than in most countries, the general economic position of the villager is unfavourable to the spread of education or an appreciation of its advantages If an appeal to him to educate his children is to be successful it must rest on a concerted effort to make the school an instrument of village 'uplift', economic and social as well as intellectual

7 In many provinces large areas have a population density of less than 150 persons to the square mile. The following Table illustrates this point —

Province	Percentage of total area of province having a population of under 150 per square mile	Percentage of total population of province living in such areas
Baluchistan	100 0	100 0
Burma	92 4	76 1
N W F Province	88 6	71 6
Coorg	86 0	77 9
Assam	73 1	30 0
Central Provinces	70 5	49 6
Bombay	60 4	29 0

The scantiness of roads and means of communication, physical obstacles in hilly areas or deltas, and climatic conditions make it difficult in many provinces to collect children into central schools and secure their regular attendance This results in a multiplication of small schools

8 Again, in most provinces there are advanced and backward areas, prosperous and poverty-stricken areas In prosperous areas the provision of education has not been difficult, but in backward areas, owing to famine, lack of irrigation, low density of population, lack of communications or inaccessibility, the provision of education for the masses is very difficult Owing to climatic and seasonal reasons, the population of large areas in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan is nomadic in character and the permanent provision of schools is almost impossible Similarly in other parts of India, particularly in plantation areas, there are seasonal migrations of whole communities In the Hill Tracts and Agency Areas there are not only seasonal migrations, but in addition many tribes live in almost impenetrable forest and jungle In Madras, the Agency Areas have little or no means of communication and in many cases are almost unexplored, and even in the plains certain districts like the Ceded districts are always

on the verge of famine, owing to lack of irrigation and frequent failure of the monsoon In Bombay, practically the whole province of Sind is economically backward, and in Burma 30 per cent of the total area of the province consists of Hill States and territories In Assam one-third of the province is declared to be "Backward Hill Tracts" under statute and contains a population of nearly a million. Over 2,440 square miles of the province are unsurveyed and even in the valleys heavy rainfall and river torrents make communications difficult Generally, therefore, the backward areas call for a special and separate educational policy

9 Regularity of attendance in India is prejudiced by epidemic and seasonal illness Epidemic diseases are far more prevalent and persistent in India than in non-tropical countries and millions of the population are constantly incapacitated, for example by malaria The average number of patients treated at hospitals each year for malaria alone is over 7 millions

In rural areas, agencies for securing good sanitary conditions and for medical relief are scanty and the provision of an effective school medical service is an ideal which is still far below the horizon

10 The problem of effective school provision is complicated by the barriers of caste, by religious, communal and linguistic difficulties Such complications are by no means unknown in other countries, but in many parts of India they are peculiarly acute, and they impede the construction of a system of mass primary education which on grounds of social solidarity as well as on grounds of economy and efficiency is now generally regarded as the best type of public system,—a system under which the children of all sections of the population sit together in the same school and enjoy equal opportunities of education The existence of millions of persons who are regarded by the majority of the population as untouchable and who in some places cannot even use all the public roads and wells creates an educational problem which it would be difficult to parallel elsewhere In Madras, for example, large numbers of schools are situated in areas which the Hindu social system does not permit a depressed class pupil to enter

We refer later to the complications caused by communal and religious differences and the extent to which through insistence on segregate schools they are responsible for the provision of an uneconomic multiplicity of school units, and for the persistence of many unrecognised institutions which stand outside the public system

The linguistic difficulty also, even where it does not arise out of communal differences and the affection of communities for their

classical languages, is in India serious Most provinces are divided into a number of linguistic areas, sub-divided into bi-lingual and multi-lingual districts In the Agency and Hill Tracts there are innumerable language groups and tribal languages

11 Because of these peculiar circumstances, the problem of popular education in India is one which taxes to the uttermost the skill, ingenuity and energy of the best administrators In this and subsequent chapters we suggest that in a good many respects radical changes in the methods of dealing with it are required We do not thereby intend to cast any reflection on the body of devoted public servants who in face of great difficulties have done their best But the present time is critical in the history of Indian mass education, and nothing short of a strong, concerted, and well-directed effort will redeem it from the waste and ineffectiveness which now exist

III —Rapid Expansion

12 We now review the quantitative progress which has been made during the last few years In what follows we give the main figures showing the number of primary schools, the number of pupils enrolled in the primary schools or primary departments of secondary schools, the percentage of those who are of school-going age and who are so enrolled, and the increase in expenditure on primary schools

13 **Pupils** —We give first a tabular statement showing the number of primary schools and pupils We have been careful, in Table XVIII, to give the number of pupils in the primary stage, and have thereby included not only the enrolment of primary schools but also that of the primary departments of secondary schools The figures show that, whereas the total number of pupils in that stage increased only from 6,404,200 to 6,897,147 during the 1917—1922 quinquennium, the increase during the last quinquennium amounted to as many as 2,350,470 pupils, the enrolment having advanced from 6,897,147 to 9,247,617 These figures taken by themselves are encouraging They suggest that the old-time apathy of the masses towards education is being rapidly broken down, that there is a growing desire for education, and that many parents, however poor, are now prepared to make sacrifices in order that their children may be educated A satisfactory feature of the figures is that all provinces, to a greater or lesser degree, have contributed towards this expansion It is also significant that the advance, in the main, has been sustained and not spasmodic Figures for girls are included in these Tables, but we shall discuss the special problems of girls' education in a subsequent chapter

TABLE XVII.

Recognised primary schools for boys and girls and enrolment—1922 and 1927

Province and population (in millions)	1922		1927	
	Institutions	Pupils	Institutions	Pupils
Madras (42 3)	36,275	1,546,785	49,788	2,215,707
Bombay (19 2)	12,622	798,508	13,835	984,726
Bengal (46 6)	47,783	1,435,906	52,809	1,741,504
United Provinces (45 3)	16,840	832,940	20,398	1,092,965
Punjab (20 6)	6,675	318,337	7,144	454,653
Burma (13 2)	5,053	200,648	4,519	238,837
Bihar and Orissa (34 0	24,956	688,188	30,247	941,675
Central Provinces (13 9)	4,133	260,412	4,523	291,099
Assam (7 6)	4,300	169,202	4,786	213,675
British India (247 3)	160,072	6,310,451	189,348	8,256,760

TABLE XVIII

Boys and girls in primary stage of both primary and secondary recognised schools

	Boys and girls in primary stage of both primary and secondary schools					Girls in primary stage		
	Total number of pupils							
	1917	1922	1927	Increase since 1917	Increase since 1922	1917	1922	*1927
Madras	1,416,799	1,597,054	2,251,233	834,434	654,179	293,173	354,522	525,697
Bombay	662,459	809,347	917,104	234,705	107,817	128,440	165,939	215,559
Bengal	1,587,273	1,592,764	1,942,742	355,469	349,953	284,321	333,704	416,415
United Provinces	717,458	809,894	1,134,352	416,924	274,458	60,007	90,363	119,215
Punjab	361,308	438,971	797,713	436,405	358,742	52,097	59,676	89,517
Burma	361,076	309,207	383,862	22,786	74,655	116,531	111,419	166,193
Bihar and Orissa	705,765	716,660	991,189	285,424	274,529	100,133	104,570	115,785
Central Provinces	317,868	302,152	341,514	23,626	39,362	35,876	36,688	42,359
Assam	204,861	190,149	236,950	32 089	46,801	27,291	26,234	34,691
British India	6,404,200	6,897,147	9,247,617	2,528,979	2,350,470	1,115,492	1,907,643	1,751,607

* The figures for 1927 for girls in the primary stage alone are not available owing to a change in classification, the figures given are for all girls under instruction, over 90 per cent of whom are in the primary stage.

14 The following Tables afford material for estimating the advance made towards the goal of universal primary education The population of each province at the time of the last Census in 1921 is given, and from those figures have been calculated the number of boys and girls who should be receiving primary education, taking 14 per cent of the total population as the most accurate basis for calculating the population of school-going age (six to eleven) The figures in Table XX indicate that in 1927, so far as boys are concerned, Madras had already gone more than half way, that Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab had gone nearly as far, and that in all the other provinces considerable advance had been made It should also be remembered that a large number of other boys, particularly in Burma, are enrolled in unrecognised schools where, presumably, they are receiving some kind of education

TABLE XIX

Population of school-going age

14 per cent of total population

(In thousands)

Province and population (in millions)	Boys		Girls	
	1911	1921	1911	1921
Madras (42 3)	2,854	2,922	2,943	2,998
Bombay (19 3)	1,436	1,425	1,321	1,284
Bengal (46 6)	3,271	3,381	3,096	3,156
United Provinces (45 3)	3,424	3,330	3,129	3,022
Punjab (20·6)	1,508	1,538	1,233	1,312
Burma (13 2)	866	946	830	904
Bihar and Orissa (34 0)	2,360	2,347	2,468	2,413
Central Provinces (13 9)	970	973	978	975
Assam (7 6)	486	555	455	510
British India (247 3)	17,459	17,762	16,692	16,814

TABLE XX.

Percentage of population of school-going age who are receiving primary instruction by provinces

Province and population (in millions)	Boys			Girls		
	1917	1922	1927 (1)	1917.	1922	1927 (2)
Madras (42 3)	39 2	42 5	59 0	10 1	11 8	17 5
Bombay (19 3)	37 2	45 1	49 2	9 7	12 9	16 8
Bengal (46 6)	39 8	37 2	45 1	9 2	10 6	13 2
United Provinces (45 3)	19 2	23 1	30 5	1 9	3 0	3 9
Punjab (20 6)	20 5	23 9	44 7	2 4	4 5	6 8
Burma (13 2)	28 2	20 9	23 0	14 0	12 3	18 4
Bihar and Orissa (34 0)	25 7	26 3	37 3	4 1	4 3	4 8
Central Provinces (13 9)	29 1	27 3	30 7	3 7	3 8	4 3
Assam (7 6)	36 5	29 5	36 4	6 0	5 1	6 8
British India (247 3)	30 3	31 5	42 1	6 7	7 7	10 4

(1) The percentages are for all pupils in primary stages, *minus* all girls in all institutions The real figures should be a little higher

(2) The percentages are for all girls under instruction The real figures should be a little lower

15 **Expenditure.**—We cannot include in the Tables which follow figures for expenditure on pupils in the primary departments of secondary schools, and therefore the total increase of expenditure on primary education is larger than the figures indicate Moreover, since some provinces (notably the Punjab in middle vernacular schools and Bengal in middle English schools) have adopted the policy of providing much of their primary education in the primary departments of secondary schools, the figures do not accurately represent the relative increases of expenditure on primary education as between the several provinces

16 The total expenditure on primary schools in British India has been as follows —

Year	Crores of Rupees
1892	0 96
1897	1 10
1902	1 18
1907	1 55
1912	2 07
1917	2 93
1922	5 09
1927	6 95

The figures for the several provinces are also of importance.

TABLE XXI

Total direct expenditure on primary schools by provinces

(In lakhs)

Province	1917	1922	1927
Madras	70 13	106 49	170 51
Bombay	63 48	149 53	198 83
Bengal	44 52	54 08	67 61
United Provinces	28 80	67 42	84 31
Punjab	19 65	34 32	42 34
Burma	10 36	14 39	20 07
Bihar and Orissa	27 62	36 15	55 86
Central Provinces	16 15	28 22	32 61
Assam	7 51	9 12	11 18
British India	293 14	509 08	695 22

It will be seen that the expenditure has increased by six crores since 1892, and that two-thirds of that increase has been made during the last ten years The fact that large additional sums have been demanded by Ministers, and that they have been voted gladly by the new Legislative Councils, is in itself encouraging These figures suggest that there is a considerable and growing demand, that real efforts have been made to meet the demand by the improvement of existing schools and by the provision of new schools The Legislative Councils have shown clearly and effectively that they are in full sympathy with the movement

17 Before drawing any inferences, however, from these figures as to the real progress in popular education which they represent, it is necessary to examine closely how the money has been spent Has the quantitative expansion in the provision of money and in the facilities for primary education been accompanied by elimination of waste, by improvement in the quality of education given, by a corresponding increase in the volume of effective instruction received? In other words, has the greater expenditure yielded a correspondingly greater return in educational value?

IV —The Pupils

18 **Census figures—Literacy.**—Primary education is ineffective unless it at least produces literacy, and the only definite material for ascertaining the prevalence of literacy in India is that provided by the Census The position revealed by the last Census, however, was very disturbing Unfortunately for our purposes, this Census

was taken as far back as 1921, and therefore it is not possible to estimate with any accuracy the effect which the large quantitative expansion of education during the last seven years has had on illiteracy Between 1892 and 1922, the percentage of male literates of five years and over in British India increased by only 1 4 per cent (from 13 0 to 14 4), and that of female literates by 1 3 per cent from (0·7 to 2 0) The percentage of literates of both sexes and all ages was only 7 2 in 1921 Progress has been extremely slow The percentage of literates in some territories adjoining British India is greater than in British India, as the following figures show —

TABLE XXII

Percentage of literates in 1921 in some territories adjoining British India

	Males	Females.
Baroda	24 0	4 7
Travancore	38 0	17 3
Cochin	31 7	11 5
Ceylon	56 3	21 2

We desire here to state our belief that there are large numbers of persons in the country who, though not classified in the Census as literate, not only manage their own affairs and those of their families competently but are fully capable of taking an intelligent part in public life Inherited traditions, natural shrewdness and ability and practical experience assist many illiterate men to act as intelligent citizens and many illiterate women to be good wives and mothers, ruling their households with wisdom and success

19 For the period subsequent to 1921, all that can be done is to estimate the probable effect of the schools on literacy by examining the conditions which prevail in them Are those conditions such as to justify the belief that a larger number or a larger proportion of the pupils who attend them are attaining effective and permanent literacy? We think it justifiable to assume that, on the average, no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate, and, for our purpose, we shall therefore examine the enrolment of each class, to find out whether the pupils are progressing satisfactorily from class to class, and whether in large numbers they reach Class IV

20 **Diminution in enrolment from class to class at the primary stage.**—The following Tables show the successive diminution in numbers as we pass from Class I to Classes IV and V at the primary stage —

TABLE XXIII

Primary schools and primary classes of secondary schools

1922 23	1923-24	1924 25	1925 26	1926-27
Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
3,986,924	1,379,986	984,358	710,895	427,053

TABLE XXIV

The proportion of pupils in Classes I, IV and V in the provinces

Province	Boys' Schools			Girls' Schools		
	1922 23 Class I	1925-26 Class IV	1926-27 Class V	1922-23 Class I	1925-26 Class IV	1926-27 Class V
Madras	100	26	11	100	16	9
Bombay	100	41	36	100	31	23
Bengal	100	11	7	100	2	1
United Provinces	100	18	15	100	8	6
Punjab	100	25	18	100	16	12
Burma	100	17	9	100	18	7
Bihar and Orissa	100	14	9	100	3	2
Central Provinces	100	46	16	100	23	7
Assam	100	17	6	100	9	4
British India	100	19	11	100	10	6

TABLE XXV

Number of pupils in boys' schools by stages and provinces

Province	Class I 1922 23	Class II 1923 24	Class III 1924 25	Class IV 1925 26	Class V 1926 27
Madras	765,772	344,172	243,888	196,702	84,830
Bombay	252,274	134,513	121,607	102,506	90,638
Bengal	769,080	277,235	167,912	87,116	56,664
United Provinces	498,094	149,807	108,951	88,218	69,189
Punjab	277,120	98,194	78,517	67,968	49,416
Burma	146,852	38,256	30,197	24,953	12,891
Bihar and Orissa	351,194	145,750	56,032	36,486	31,491
Central Provinces	102,852	57,458	48,593	46,700	15,854
Assam	119,078	29,862	27,538	19,874	7,644
British India	3,453,046	1,218,758	897,512	655,101	393,465

TABLE XXVI.

Number of pupils in girls' schools by stages and provinces

Province	Class I 1922 23	Class II 1923-24	Class III 1924 25	Class IV 1925 26	Class V. 1926 27
Madras	116,615	35,725	26,091	18,402	10,075
Bombay	48,089	25,383	18,816	14,728	11,241
Bengal	195,534	51,675	16,653	4,239	2,014
United Provinces	42,705	9,078	5,686	3,275	2,428
Punjab	36,488	10,075	7,933	5,752	4,203
Burma	22,934	13,546	4,608	4,161	1,570
Bihar and Orissa	40,646	10,551	5,128	1,091	799
Central Provinces	9,452	5,022	3,041	2,174	619
Assam	10,258	1,745	1,199	913	419
British India	533,878	161,228	86,846	55,794	33,588

The diminution is enormous For British India as a whole the figures in Table XXIII show that out of every hundred pupils (boys and girls) who were in Class I in 1922-23 only eighteen were reading in Class IV in 1925-26

21 The diminution is mainly due to two causes, which we shall term 'wastage' and 'stagnation' By 'wastage', in what follows, we mean the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course There is of course a diminution in numbers from class to class due to natural causes, such as death and illness, but the mortality figures show that such diminution must be small compared to the total diminution By 'stagnation' we mean the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year Such stagnation obviously leads to the disproportionate size of the lower as compared with the higher classes The figures taken by themselves do not indicate how far the excessive diminution in numbers from class to class is due to 'wastage', and how far it is due to 'stagnation', but our enquiries show that by far the more potent factor is 'wastage'

22 In interpreting the figures it is true that some allowance must be made for special circumstances A period of rapid expansion naturally results in an abnormal enlargement of Class I, and as a consequence, a temporary disproportion between the numbers in Class I and those in the higher classes Again, in many provinces a certain number of new admissions are usually made towards the end of the school year with the result that the new recruits,

while swelling the enrolment of Class I, cannot hope to obtain promotion till after the completion of the following year But even when we make all possible allowances and discount the figures liberally, the hard facts of wastage and stagnation are shocking

23 We have now to consider the figures in relation to the acquisition of literacy On the assumption which we have made that on the average no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate, we find that, taking British India as a whole, the present system produced in 1925-26 only eighteen potential literates out of every hundred who joined Class I in 1922-23 How many of these will, in fact, become literate it is impossible to say But we are told that in the Central Provinces in 1926-27, only 57 per cent of the boys in Class IV passed the primary school examination and "possessed the elements of literacy" * In Bihar, only 57,000 pupils passed the lower primary examination in 1927 out of 125,000 pupils enrolled in Class III

In Bihar and Bengal, owing to the immense preponderance of lower primary schools with only three classes, vast numbers of boys have no chance of reaching Class IV Table XXIV shows that of pupils in boys' schools only 14 per cent in Bihar and 11 per cent in Bengal reach that class, and of pupils in girls' schools, only 3 per cent in Bihar and only 2 per cent in Bengal reach it

24 The wastage is thus, as we have said, enormous, and it involves an immense waste of money and effort Reference has been made to it in Mr Arthur Mayhew's recent book on the Education of India, and the Royal Commission on Agriculture expressed the view that under present conditions expenditure on primary education is largely wasted If the annual cost of a primary school pupil is put at Rs 8, then in 1922-23, Rs 2 91 crores were spent on pupils who did not proceed to Class II, in 1923-24, Rs 0 40 crores were spent on pupils who did not proceed from Class II to Class III, in 1924-25, Rs 0 29 crores were spent on pupils who did not proceed from Class III to Class IV The total amount of this ill-directed expenditure was Rs 3 60 crores The total loss for the four years amounts approximately to Rs 14 4 crores, or to 60 per cent of total expenditure on primary schools between 1922-23 and 1925-26

25 **Relapse into illiteracy.**—The losses due to wastage prevent all but a few pupils from becoming literate, but even of these few it is not possible to say with any confidence that many will not rapidly relapse into illiteracy It is impossible to give figures for such relapse but there is every indication that they are large It is difficult to correlate at all satisfactorily the Census figures for literacy with the figures for school attendance But

* Memorandum on the Development of Education in the Central Provinces and Berar page 2

the fact that the number of literates in the age group 10—15 in the Census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age group five to ten at school five years previously indicates not only waste but a rapid relapse into illiteracy

The explanation of such relapse is simple Retention of initial literacy acquired at the early age of ten or eleven depends largely on environment, and the environment of the great majority of Indian pupils who leave school at the primary stage is not conducive to such retention The parents in the village home are usually illiterate, they are too poor to buy books, and attractive vernacular literature and periodicals suitable for children are not available, though there are vernacular books which might be read by children under religious impulse

26 **Adult work.**—Sporadic attempts have been made, though not on a large scale, to encourage night schools, classes for women, lantern lectures, village libraries and so forth, but very little has been attempted on a systematic basis Some idea of the present extent of adult educational work is given by the following Table —

TABLE XXVII

Schools and classes for adults by provinces

Province	Males		Females	
	Institutions	Pupils	Institutions	Pupils
Madras	5,604	151,691	33	
Bombay	193	6,390	9	788
Bengal	1,519	30,573	1	155
United Provinces	26	723		
Punjab	3,784	98,414	2	53
Burma	2	147	1	86
Bihar and Orissa	1	74		
Central Provinces	29	689	1	269
Assam				
Total	11,158	289,001	47	1,351

The figures in the above Table do not accurately indicate the real position since, while the majority of the schools in Bombay, the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces are schools which educate adults only, the figures for the other provinces include large numbers of schools which admit children as well as adults

There is at present in India, so far as we are aware, no advanced adult education for workers such as is carried on in England by the Workers' Educational Association and similar bodies, and in many other countries by corresponding associations, of which a brief account was given at the Oberhof Conference on the Industrial Worker and Adult Education held in 1928 under the auspices of the World Association for Adult Education * Nor are there any 'University Settlements' for educational and social work among industrial workers Where the workers do not possess even the elements of literacy, teaching of such subjects as economics and history must necessarily present great difficulties We should mention that there was in Bombay an Adult Education Society, with the object of providing higher education for men and women earning their living, but that the classes held by this Society were discontinued after only a few years' work †

27 **Stagnation.**—There is evidence that many pupils stagnate in a class for a number of years The longer a child remains in one class the more he is discouraged and, probably, neglected, while his continued presence at school not only confers no benefit on himself, but also affects adversely the teaching of the other pupils It is only fair to say that the task of the teacher in dealing with the children in the lowest class is made much more difficult by the prevailing practice of admitting children whenever their parents choose to send them to school In some provinces a rule that children shall be admitted only at the beginning of a school year is under consideration At our suggestion, the Education Departments of several provinces have made a special investigation regarding wastage and stagnation in selected areas, and we are indebted to those provinces for the valuable information which they have given A careful study of the figures supplied to us shows that very large numbers of pupils stagnate It is common for children to remain in one class for more than two years, especially in Class I, and some children have remained continuously for as many as seven or eight years in the same class The evidence furnished to us also clearly establishes the fact that wastage and stagnation occur to a much larger extent in rural areas than in urban areas, and are also greater in primary schools than in the primary departments of secondary schools The lower rate of wastage and stagnation is due to the greater efficiency of the secondary schools, to the more regular promotions and to the larger number of pupils who join secondary schools direct in Classes II, III and IV

27*a* We have come to the conclusion that in all provinces the primary classes of secondary schools are producing a number of literates, but that the primary schools are so largely ineffective as scarcely to influence the advance of literacy at all in the sense of

* See Bulletin XXXVIII of the World Association for Adult Education, 1928

† Bombay Q R , page 208

increasing the proportion of literates to the population, the death-rate of literates being taken into account Primary schools with only three classes cannot be expected to affect materially the growth of literacy, yet there are approximately 36,000 such schools in Bengal and over 25,000 such schools in Bihar

28 **Irregular attendance.**—We have refrained from quoting any attendance statistics (*i e* , figures showing the proportion of actual attendances for a whole school day to the possible attendance of the pupils enrolled), because, in our opinion and in that of experienced inspectors, it is not possible to obtain reliable returns under existing conditions Accurate registration of attendance cannot be secured in any country without a great deal of supervision, and in India the machinery for checking it is wholly inadequate in relation to the number of schools and their situation It is clear that school attendance is, and must be, irregular in places where climatic and geographical conditions and the conditions of public health are so adverse

V —Provision and distribution of schools

29 In considering whether the provision of schools is adequate or not, it is necessary to look not only at the aggregate number of schools but also at the manner of their distribution

30 **Provision of schools** —In 1927, there were 162,666 primary schools for boys in British India In addition, there were 10,373 secondary schools for boys, most of which have primary departments, there were in the Punjab 2,707 branch primary schools (that is schools with only one or two classes, which are linked up with schools for older children and supervised by the head teachers of those schools) There were also a large number of unrecognised schools in which some kind of education is given, numbering in all 32,128, the majority being in Burma

31 According to the Census of 1921, the total male population was 126,872,116 and the number of boys of school-going age *i e* , between six and eleven years of age, was approximately 17,762 000 There was thus one recognised primary school on the average to every 109 boys of school-going age The Table below gives the corresponding figures for the provinces —

TABLE XXVIII

Average male population of school-going age per primary school.

Madras	63
Bombay	115
Bengal	88
United Provinces	176
Punjab	266
Burma	240
Bihar and Orissa	85
Central Provinces	228
Assam	126

32 The following Table shows the average area served by a school —

TABLE XXIX

Average area served by a boys' primary school

	Sq Miles
Madras	3 07
Bombay	10 05
Bengal	2 01
United Provinces	5 65
Punjab	16 89
Burma	59 70
Bihar and Orissa	3 03
Central Provinces	23 84
Assam	12 10
British India	6 73

It should be remembered that in the Punjab there is an exceptionally large number of middle vernacular schools which are really enlarged primary schools, that in Burma the unrecognised schools are more than four times as numerous as the recognised schools and that in Burma, the Central Provinces and Assam there are large forest tracts which are very thinly populated

33 The problem of school provision divides itself roughly into two (*a*) provision for the smaller villages with a population of under 500, which number over 364,000, and (*b*) provision for the larger villages, with a population of over 500, and for the towns, which together number about 136,000 According to the Census of 1921, 71 8 per cent of the population live in the larger villages (as defined above) and the towns The only provinces in which more than 30 per cent live in the smaller villages are the United Provinces (35 per cent) Bihar (36 5 per cent) the Central Provinces (40 per cent) and Assam (55 per cent) The problem of school provision in the smaller villages is very difficult It may be solved to some extent by the rapid growth of motor traffic and by the establishment of branch schools, but much remains to be done

On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that the vast majority of the 136,000 towns and larger villages are already provided with primary school-units for boys, of which the total number is over 162,000 In Madras, 80 per cent of the villages with a

population of 500—1,000, and 93 per cent of the villages with a population of 1,000—2,000, have schools The provision is most liberal in Madras, Bengal and Bihar, in the Central Provinces, United Provinces and Burma, it is least

It is true that the existence of a school-unit does not imply that there is sufficient school accommodation, and though many of the existing schools are not yet fully utilised, the increase in the number of pupils who would attend under a universal compulsory system would demand a very large increase in the total accommodation It is also true that a better distribution of schools is needed But the existence of so many school-units is important and encouraging.

94 **Distribution of schools**—According to many competent observers primary schools are at present very unevenly distributed and a better distribution is greatly needed

In *Bengal*, Mr E E Biss, I E S, in his report on the expansion and improvement of primary education, referred to the faulty distribution of schools, and described how schools were multiplying and competing with each other wherever the teachers could receive fees The Bengal Memorandum* also states that "primary schools were distributed so unequally that there were large areas without a school, while in others were many little schools indulging in cut-throat competition for the children" An inspector of schools, Bengal, states that "in Bengal primary schools are not established with due regard to local needs They are started generally by needy teachers who regard them as their personal property Party faction often plays an important part in establishing rival schools in areas where there are some thriving schools already in existence In prosperous villages more schools are started than are actually required, whereas in a poorer village, where there is a real need, no school exists The result is that there is lack of systematisation in the primary school system of Bengal" The writer also gives figures relating to the average area served by a primary school in Bengal and states that "a close scrutiny into the above figures clearly goes to show that what is needed in Bengal is not a substantial increase in the number of primary schools but their distribution on a well-defined plan, increasing their size where necessary, and their proper and systematic organisation"

* Memorandum on the Growth of Education in Bengal, page 6.

In *Madras*, the Special Officer who made proposals for the reorganisation of primary education stated that there is considerable rivalry and overlapping in both urban and rural areas between various classes of elementary schools The members of the Missionary Educational Council of South India state in their memorandum that some of the District Educational Councils have tried to prevent the overlapping of schools, but not always successfully In consequence, schools under public management have often been set up in such a way as to be detrimental to aided education, with the result that there has been no real expansion in such places

In *Bihar*, it is stated in the last Quinquennial Review that "much money has been wasted in the past on unnecessary schools" * while an inspector of schools from the same province, writing of conditions prior to 1926, contends that "there was no settled policy of line of action and schools were opened more or less haphazard at those places from which requests for new schools were received without regard to the needs of the district as a whole Many localities had more than one school while others had none, and complaints were made by the residents of the latter that it was not fair to give no schools to them while the other localities had been provided with a number of schools"

In the *United Provinces* reference is made in the Quinquennial Review to "the opening of schools unnecessarily or in unsuitable localities", and in the same Review it is stated that "many boards, alleging poverty for their refusal to meet increased demands from schools already established, yet hastened to aid by lavish grants the establishment of the new institutions" † And in the pamphlet on "Primary Education for every Boy and Girl" published by the Government of the United Provinces in March, 1928, it is suggested that one way in which the layman can help is to assist in the amalgamation of small and uneconomic primary schools which are in close proximity to each other

35 **Communal and religious schools.**—It is true that an economical, effective and equitable distribution of schools is made more difficult by communal and religious requirements and by social barriers in particular, by the needs of the Muhammadan community and by those of the depressed classes The following Table shows the number of segregate recognised primary schools for Muhammadans in the provinces in which they are numerous

* Bihar Q R , page 60
† United Provinces Q R , page 96

TABLE XXX

Segregate primary schools for Muhammadans

Province	Segregate primary schools	Maktabs	Islamia schools	Mulla schools
Madras	3,166	67		
Bombay	2,061	.		827
Bengal		19,919		
United Provinces		2 294	693	
Punjab* .	308			
Burma	172			
Bihar and Orissa		3,477		
Central Provinces	242	.		
Assam		102		
Total	5,955	25,859	693	827

The existence of as many as 33,000 segregate primary schools of these types is obviously an obstacle to an effective distribution of schools It has been estimated that in Bengal alone a policy of consolidation would save at least 15,000 schools

36 In a few provinces the need for providing separate schools for the depressed classes in deference to social barriers has also affected the problem The following Table shows the number of special primary schools for these classes

Madras	10,470
Bombay	597
United Provinces	814
Bihar and Orissa	222
Punjab	47

37 There are also in some provinces an appreciable number of special recognised primary schools which make provision to a varying degree for instruction in the tenets of the Hindu religion, in Sanskrit and in Pali In Burma, there are 1,890 recognised monastic primary schools, in Madras, 701 recognised patshalas and in Bihar, 762 recognised patshalas In the United Provinces, the number of patshalas is reported to be large, but no accurate figure is available

* Figures only approximate

38 In the United Provinces, the Director of Public Instruction in his Quinquennial Review has drawn pointed attention to the multiplication of segregate schools

> "There is evidence on all sides of a desire for religious instruction in schools Years ago this found expression in the demand among Muhammadans for Islamia schools and maktabs The demand for maktabs seems to be somewhat intensified and a similar demand for patshalas has arisen more recently among Hindus, it is impossible to determine yet how far the desire is based upon true religious zeal or upon sectarian or communal prejudice, but there is no doubt that the latter is an important, if not the predominant underlying factor During the quinquennium a large number of Hindu patshalas have been established, they can hardly be considered as spontaneous in origin, suggestions for the establishment of such institutions were broadcast from a few sources to chairmen and boards throughout the provinces "*

In Bihar, the Director of Public Instruction reveals an even more difficult state of affairs

> "During the year 1926-27", he writes, "the number of primary schools of all classes, aided and unaided, fell by 223 but the number of maktabs and Sanskrit patshalas rose substantially There is thus in progress a movement for substituting for the village school a variety of schools intended for the benefit of particular communities We are now reaching a stage when each village wants a primary school, a maktab and a Sanskrit pathshala In addition it is claimed that even at the lower primary stage separate schools are necessary for girls, and in many cases separate schools for the children of the depressed classes Thus, in the poorest province of India we are asked to provide five primary schools for a single village "†

The problem presented by these schools is complex and difficult and we shall discuss the matter more thoroughly in a later chapter It is clear that, for one reason or another, the present expenditure of effort and money on mass-education is dissipated very largely owing to an ill-directed distribution of schools, and that future progress will be greatly retarded unless a careful review of present resources and future requirements is made before there is further expansion

39 **Separate provision for boys and girls.**—The position of girls' education will be discussed in a later chapter, but we may point out

* United Provinces Q R, page 98
† Bihar Q R, page 62

here that the arrangements for primary education are gravely handicapped by the necessity of making separate provision on a large scale for little boys and girls This is one of the chief reasons why the number of single-teacher schools is so large, and it is particularly unfortunate that, in consequence, the girls' schools are ordinarily not only badly attended and therefore extravagant, but also ineffective

40 **Inadequate utilisation of existing schools.**—There is also a great deal of waste of money and effort owing to the small enrolment of many schools There are very large numbers of boys who live within easy reach of a school and yet do not attend it, while, as we have seen, there are also large numbers who come for a few months or for a year or two and then leave, before they have had any opportunity to become literate It is in those provinces which have the largest number of schools that the average enrolment is smallest

The average enrolment of boys' primary schools in the several provinces is given below —

TABLE XXXI

Average enrolment per boys' primary school by provinces

Madras	43
Bombay	69
Bengal	37
United Provinces	55
Punjab	67
Burma	53
Bihar and Orissa	32
Central Provinces	64
Assam	46

41 The next Table is of greater interest, in it the primary departments of secondary schools have been taken into account and the distribution of pupils between the several primary classes is also given

TABLE XXXII

Average enrolment per class in the primary stages by provinces

Province	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Madras	25	8	6	5
Bombay	25	13	11	9
Bengal	26	7	5	2
United Provinces	20	10	7	5
Punjab	67	28	15	13
Burma	56	14	9	7
Bihar and Orissa	20	6	4	2
Central Provinces	34	16	14	12
Assam	31	8	8	5

In the Punjab, there has been a definite policy of consolidation, in Bombay, there is also a large number of higher elementary schools and the pay and qualifications of the teachers have been raised, and in both these provinces we find an enrolment in the

higher primary classes far above the average We also find a higher enrolment in these classes in the Central Provinces, in which the policy followed has been rather to make the primary schools efficient than to expand their number The figures for the Central Provinces are the more noticeable since there are no primary classes in the secondary schools in that province

42 As we have seen from Table XIX, there are nearly 18 million boys of school-going age in British India There are about four million boys in Class I, and if an equal number could be induced or compelled to enter school each year and to pass on to a higher class each year until the end of the fourth year, the aggregate number of boys in the schools would soon be nearly equivalent to the number of boys of school-going age But such a position would obviously not be attained without the provision of far more school accommodation and the supply of far more teachers than are now available

The hope of future progress depends very largely on the adoption of some effective means for the retention of pupils at school for at least four years

43 **Effect of recent expenditure** —The figures below show that in some of the provinces there has been in the last ten years a very rapid expansion in the number of schools It will therefore be pertinent to consider how far this large expenditure of money and effort, resulting in an increased enrolment, has been followed by greater efficiency as shown by an increase in the number of pupils reading in Class IV

TABLE XXXIII

Increase in the number, enrolment and expenditure of primary schools since 1917

Province	Increase in number of primary schools since 1917	Increase in number of pupils of primary schools since 1917	Increase in expenditure on primary schools since 1917
			Rs (In lakhs)
Madras	10,915	850,886	100 3
Bombay	3,080	332,108	135 1
Bengal	10,843	366,613	23 1
United Provinces	8,769	407,152	55 5
Punjab	1,311	166,807	22 7
Burma	—3,206	—17,892	9 7
Bihar and Orissa	6,241	269,342	28 2
Central Provinces	509	3,633	16 4
Assam	589	31,867	3 6
Total	50,557	2,428,108	394 6

TABLE XXXIV

Comparison of the enrolment and the proportion of the population in Class IV in 1917 and 1927

Province	Number of pupils in Class IV in 1917	Number of pupils in Class IV in 1927	Number per 10,000 of population in 1917	Number per 10,000 of population in 1927
Madras	184,042	230,362	44	54
Bombay	90,382	123,099	46	64
Bengal	126,057	96,342	27	21
United Provinces	59,619	100,869	12	22
Punjab	41,729	82,911	20	41
Burma	38,207	30,020	31	23
Bihar and Orissa	25,958	45,974	6	14
Central Provinces	40 835	50,854	35	37
Assam	29,809	22,018	44	29

44 In most provinces, there has been a marked increase in the enrolment, though the enrolment figures in Table XVIII include both the increase in existing schools and the increase due to the opening of new schools Table XXXIV, however, shows that the increase in the aggregate number of pupils in the schools is not reflected in a proportional increase in the number of pupils in Class IV . This is very disappointing Assuming that all children in Class IV attain literacy before they pass out of it and retain literacy afterwards, the death-rate of literates is such that the net increase in literates gained each year is much smaller than the figures in column 5 of Table XXXIV indicate According to the Royal Agricultural Commission—

> "When calculations are made on the basis of information supplied by the Census reports it appears that the total number of pupils in recognised schools who pass through Class IV is a little more than the normal loss due to death among literate males of twenty years of age and over In the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Burma, the annual loss due to death exceeds the number of pupils in Class IV "*

45 In Bengal, in spite of the addition of nearly 11,000 new schools and an increased enrolment of nearly 370,000 pupils, the number of pupils who reach Class IV has actually declined The additional literates added to the population each year (without allowing for the death of any existing literates) represent only 0 21 per cent of the total population In Assam, the number of pupils in Class IV is smaller by 7,800 than it was in 1917, though there are 31,800 more pupils in the schools, while in Madras, the increase in the number of children who can have become literate has been extremely small in proportion to the general expansion of

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 521

expenditure and pupils The number of pupils in Class IV has also declined in Burma, though this is due partly to an actual reduction in the total number of schools and pupils

46 **Single-Teacher Schools** —The Royal Commission on Agriculture commented on the inefficiency of those schools which are staffed by a single teacher They entirely agreed—

> "with those educational authorities who hold that no primary school can be efficient which has less than two teachers Unless the school which has at present one teacher can be provided with an additional teacher or converted into a branch school consisting of one or two classes only with the object of providing teaching for young children until they are old enough to walk to the central school, it is better closed, for it is both ineffective and extravagant "*

The following Table shows the number of single-teacher schools in the provinces —

TABLE XXXV

Number of single-teacher primary schools by provinces

Province	1 Total number of primary schools	2 Number of single teacher schools	3 Percentage ratio of single teacher schools to total
Madras	49,788	28,695	57 6
Bombay (local body schools only)	11,174	5,452	48 8
Bengal	52,809	40,184	76 0
United Provinces	20,398	10,262	50 3
Punjab (boys' schools only)	5,912	1,501	25 4
Burma	4,519	2,535	56 1
Bihar and Orissa	30,247	21,615	71 4
Central Provinces	4,523	710	15 7
Assam	4,786	3,339	69 8

47 These figures show that approximately over 60 per cent of the primary schools in British India are single-teacher schools The type of such school varies considerably in the several provinces—

> In *Madras*, it has been calculated that at least 20,000 of the 28,695 single-teacher schools have four classes or more The figures given in the Report on the Development

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 525.

of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency, 1927, reveal the fact that there are single-teacher schools with five classes and as many as seventy pupils in each, and others with six classes and as many as a hundred pupils in each

In *Bombay*, over half of the 5,452 local board single-teacher schools are schools with four or more classes

In *Bengal*, over 39,000 schools of this type are lower primary schools with three classes in each

In the *United Provinces*, the full primary schools comprise five classes, the infant class and Classes I to IV, and the preparatory schools have only three junior classes Of the 10,252 single-teacher schools, 7,886 are preparatory schools and the majority of the remainder are maktabs or pathshalas

In the *Punjab*, all the schools of this type have four classes

In *Burma*, there are 748 single-teacher schools with four classes and 1,343 with more than four classes

In *Bihar*, there are 25,103 lower primary schools with three classes in each so that it is probable that nearly all the 21,615 single-teacher schools in that province are lower primary schools

In the *Central Provinces*, the majority of the single-teacher schools have only three classes

In *Assam*, the majority of the 2,339 single-teacher schools have four classes but the geographical conditions of that province probably account very largely for the existence of so large a proportion of these schools

48 The restriction of a school to three classes diminishes the burden on the teacher, but is not favourable to the production of literacy unless the children continue their education in some other school In many provinces, the tendency is to regard the multiplication of schools of the single-teacher type as the easiest, if not the best, way of providing facilities for primary education The Madras Government, for example, accepted the recommendation of a conference held in 1923 that advance should be made by a multiplication of such schools In consequence, 825 single-teacher schools were started in 1924, 2,038 in 1925 and 1,508 in 1926 In Bihar and Bengal, recent advance has mainly taken the form of a multiplication of lower primary schools

49 On this matter we have consulted a number of experienced witnesses It may be that, in favourable circumstances, with a good teacher trained in methods of plural class teaching, a school of this type serves a useful purpose, but we cannot think that there is much

promise of effective progress in a system which depends so predominantly on schools of this type A teacher who is untrained and of meagre qualifications and who can obtain little or no assistance from the inspecting staff, cannot be expected single-handed to teach several classes with a large number of pupils, very unequally distributed among these classes "

50 **Ephemeral character of schools** —In those provinces, such as Madras, Bengal and Bihar, which depend very largely for the supply of primary schools on those 'private venture schools' or privately managed schools which are usually classed as 'aided schools', the problem of the single-teacher school is most acute Not merely are many of the teacher-manager schools inefficient, but they are apparently most unstable in character There is good evidence to show that large numbers of 'venture' or 'stipendiary' schools are opened and closed within short periods of time Teacher-manager schools in particular appear to be very unstable and often depend for their existence and continuance on the ability or otherwise of the teacher to make his venture school a paying success or to supplement the profits of his school by earning money in some other way The existence of these schools also depends largely on whether or not they succeed in obtaining grant-in-aid

In Madras, during the year 1926-27, although 8,226 new boys' primary schools were opened, as many as 5,479 primary schools were closed Of the latter figure 30 were Government schools, 18 were municipal schools, 151 were local board schools, 2,875 were aided schools and 2,405 were unaided schools During the five years 1923-27 as many as 25,937 boys' schools were closed, of which over 50 per cent were aided schools During the same period only 51 per cent of the aided primary schools received grant-in-aid for five years without a break, a fact which further reveals the ephemeral character of the schools Although no figures are available, it seems probable that in other provinces the schools started under similar conditions must be no less ephemeral than those in Madras

VI —Curriculum and Teaching

51 The Royal Commission on Agriculture, in discussing rural education, expressed the following opinion —

> "The idea that education in rural areas should bear a close relationship to the daily lives of the people is but the recognition of the truth that the environment in which rural workers live is different from that of the towns

* On the question of single-teacher schools reference should be made to the paper on Indian Education under the Reforms, by Mr J A Richey, C I E, late Educational Commissioner with the Government of India Mr Richey is of opinion that single teacher schools are still indispensable in India, and that there are many good single teacher schools in India, although it cannot be denied that the task of the teachers in such schools is a hard one (*Asiatic Review*, Jan. 1929, page 89)

> It is essential to the happiness and efficiency of children in the villages that their up-bringing should be in harmony with their environment, and to this end it is most desirable that every element in the education they receive in their village schools should draw strength and inspiration from the life of the countryside "*

52 Much criticism has been levelled against the curricula adopted in the primary schools A curriculum unrelated to the conditions of village life results in a divorce between the interests of the school and the interests of the home and in the stiffening of the belief among the rural population that little benefit is to be obtained from the sacrifice involved in sending their children to school Modifications in the curricula are doubtless required so that the pupils shall read about things which are familiar to them and shall calculate the value of those articles which are in common use in the life of the village But mere changes in formal curricula produce little result unless a corresponding change takes place in the attitude of the teacher and of the person who supervises and guides the teacher It is not easy for a teacher to change methods of teaching which he has practised for many years, and it is not easy to breathe a lively spirit into the dry bones of routine The Commission recognised that the road to their objective lay through a wise selection and an effective training of the village teachers rather than through mere changes in the curricula A similar opinion has been expressed in an official report —

> "In fact, the training of the teacher is infinitely more important than the mere alteration of the curriculum One and the same curriculum can, for example, be interpreted in entirely different ways by two teachers who have not received similar training A teacher trained to have what may be called a rural bias will make knowledge a living thing in relation to everyday happenings in village life, while a teacher without rural bias will probably never be able to make his pupils appreciate that the acquisition of knowledge has some relation to actual life "†

53 In all countries, it is agreed that the teacher makes the school, and an examination of the conditions of service, the qualification and the training of the teacher is therefore of fundamental importance

54 **Salaries.**—The average monthly salary of the teacher in a primary school in the provinces, so far as we have been able to ascertain it, is given below

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 513

† A Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency, 1927, page 28

TABLE XXXVI

Average monthly pay of teachers in boys' and girls' primary schools

	Rs	a	p
Madras	15	4	0
Bombay	47	0	0
Bengal	8	6	0
United Provinces	18	8	0
Punjab	25	8	0
Burma	33	1	0
Bihar and Orissa	11	5	0
Central Provinces	24	8	0
Assam	14	4	0

55 The figures show that the average monthly salaries in some provinces are almost incredibly low, especially when it is borne in mind that they cover all kinds of schools, local body schools and girls' schools in which salaries are comparatively high, as well as aided schools in which salaries are low In Madras and Bombay, they cover upper primary schools which carry their pupils up to Class VIII, and which are obviously not comparable with ordinary village schools with three or four classes They cover head teachers in city schools and assistant teachers in small village schools Not only is there considerable variation between the several provinces, but also between the several districts of a single province On the other hand, in some provinces, the salary is supplemented by the fees of the pupils, which are paid in cash or in kind, or by allowances for the performance of other duties, such as supervision of the post office, teaching in the girls' school or in a school for adults, or looking after the village library But the effective remuneration of the teacher is not infrequently reduced by delays in payment of salaries and by the undesirable practice of transferring him from place to place at considerable personal expense and inconvenience to himself

In *Madras*, the average pay for all classes of boys' schools only is Rs 13-12-0, while the average pay of a teacher in an aided school is approximately Rs 10

In *Bombay*, the scales of pay for primary teachers, running from Rs 20 to Rs 60, are far higher than elsewhere in India, and this probably accounts for the fact that 'wastage' is far less pronounced in that province

In *Bengal*, the teachers in many of the aided schools can scarcely be said to receive salaries at all In the Chittagong Division, for example, the average remuneration of a teacher in an unaided school is Rs 3 3 and that of a teacher in an aided school is Rs 6

In the *United Provinces*, the minimum pay of a trained teacher in a local board school is Rs 17 and that of an untrained teacher is Rs 12

In the *Punjab*, the average salary is comparatively high, but 25 per cent of the teachers in local body schools receive less than Rs 20

In *Burma*, conditions are generally satisfactory, since approved teachers, whether in aided or in Board schools, are paid their full salaries from public funds,* and the minimum pay of an untrained teacher is as high as Rs 25

In *Bihar*, the pay of primary teachers is so low that even in municipal schools the average pay is only Rs 18 In district board schools it is Rs 12-8 and in aided schools Rs 9-9

In the *Central Provinces*, the average salary in aided schools is as high as Rs 20-2 but in some of the aided schools it is as low as Rs 8

In *Assam*, the minimum salary prescribed for teachers in publicly managed schools is Rs 12

56 The untrained teacher is naturally paid a lower salary than the trained teacher, and there are as many as 138,460 untrained teachers in boys' primary schools alone Thus, the untrained teachers in boys' schools who contribute more than half the total number, are drawing salaries ranging from Rs 3 to Rs 25, the latter figure applying only to Burma If the untrained teacher is merely working as a pupil teacher in order to gain some experience before going to a training institution, a nominal salary may be justifiable, but it is obvious that this consideration does not apply to the bulk of this class of teachers It seems clear that good progress cannot be anticipated from a system in which the remuneration of the teachers is so painfully inadequate

57 **Training**.—In view of the large preponderance of single-teacher schools, of the lax attendance and of the alarming extent of wastage, it is essential that the teachers should both have initial qualifications and be well trained, but it can hardly be expected that any large number of such teachers can be secured in existing conditions of recruitment, training and pay The next Table shows the total number of teachers in boys' primary schools and the percentage of trained teachers It should be borne in mind that many of the untrained teachers are comparatively old men, a legacy of the past, who could not benefit materially by a course of training, or are young men (some of them still boys under the minimum age of admission to the training institutions) who are gaining some experience before receiving training

* Manual of Vernacular Educational Rules, Burma, page 14

TABLE XXXVII.

Percentage of trained teachers in primary schools for boys

Province	I Total number of teachers	II Number of trained teachers	III Percentage of trained teachers
Madras	83,854	40,809	48
Bombay	30,437	14,663	48
Bengal	61,132	15,671	25
United Provinces	35,332	23,486	66
Punjab	11,668	6,224	53
Burma	5,795	2,512	43
Bihar and Orissa	39,000	14,625	37
Central Provinces	10,000	4,658	46
Assam	6,045	2,220	36
British India	285,694	126,291	44

58 The fact that only 44 per cent of the total number of teachers in primary schools for boys are trained is serious enough in itself, but this defect is accentuated by the low initial qualifications of those who have been selected for training The next Table shows the general qualifications of those who have received training and were teaching in boys' primary schools in 1927

TABLE XXXVIII

Initial qualifications of trained teachers in primary schools

Province	Total number of teachers	Passed Class IV.	Passed Class V	Passed Class VII	Passed Class VIII	Percentage of trained teachers who passed Class VII or Class VIII.
Madras	83,854		25,850	..	12,472	14 8
Bombay	30,437			14,579	18	47 9
Bengal	61,132		*3,743	11,763	..	19 2
United Provinces	35,332		3,565	19,871		56 2
Punjab	14,668	737		..	5,308	36 2
Burma	5,795	1,595		251		4 3
Bihar and Orissa	39,009		*4,477	10,069		25 8
Central Provinces	10,047	987		3,500		34 8
Assam	6,045	608		1,495		24 7

Thus, out of a total of 283,319 teachers in the provinces there were only 79,000 trained teachers (or 28 per cent) who had themselves completed the middle course A very large proportion of the teachers possess general qualifications which are scarcely superior to those of the pupils in the highest class of the primary stage

* A considerable number of these have only passed the lower Primary examination (Class III)

59 It is not surprising that serious criticism has been levelled at the poor material recruited by the training institutions and at the inadequate training given to them

In *Bengal*, the Guru Training Schools "have taken in any teachers they were able to secure, the qualifications often being only that of the lower primary schools, *viz* bare literacy, though a middle school standard is aimed at, and they do with this material what is possible in one or two years All the Guru Training Schools were staffed till recently by a head pandit on Rs 18 and two others on Rs 10 each "*

In the *United Provinces*, Mr Harrop states that "the fact that the present teachers are the product of inefficient schools must be taken into account The teachers themselves have been trained on a severely literary curriculum in schools where stagnation in the infant classes is the rule and not the exception Not having had experience of anything better they naturally reproduce the mechanical, uninspiring, depressing teaching from which they themselves suffered in the infant and primary classes "† In consequence of the inefficiency of the old training classes, the United Provinces Government are now replacing the "small isolated classes with meagrely qualified and remunerated instructors" by larger training classes in certain places

In *Bihar*, the elementary training schools "are in an unsatisfactory condition for many reasons, of which the chief are the facts that many of them are situated in unsuitable places, the staff is inadequately qualified and the course is too short "‡

In the *Central Provinces*, the Director of Public Instruction writes "the teachers themselves are a product of the very system which they serve to perpetuate They have themselves been educated, if education it can be called, in primary schools staffed by teachers as badly equipped as themselves Thus, the process continues and I can see no hope of improvement until it is recognised that in order to improve primary education, better educated men are required as teachers "

60 In those provinces in which the conditions and qualifications of the teachers are most unsatisfactory, the 'vicious circle' is unbroken The candidates for training are usually of poor quality

* Memorandum on the Growth of Education, page 4

† A further Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, 1927, page 28

‡ Bihar Q R, page 94

because the education which they have received is poor and because the best products of the schools are not attracted by the prospect of inadequate pay when they have completed their training The training of those who do offer themselves is poor because the practising schools are either insufficient or non-existent, and because the training schools are staffed by men with qualifications scarcely superior to those of the men under training Thus, even the teacher who has undergone training is ineffective and the mischief of stagnation and wastage is perpetuated in the primary school to which he returns

VII —Inspection

61 In view of the conditions prevailing in the schools and the low average qualifications of the teachers which have been described, it is of very great importance that the inspecting staff should be strong both in quality and in quantity if improvement is to be secured and waste reduced A strong inspecting staff is required if close touch is to be kept with local conditions and requirements and if sound advice is to be available to those whose task it is to frame an economical and well-directed plan of improvement and development It is also required to stimulate among the people a desire to send their children to school and, more important still, to keep them at school for a reasonable period of time, to prepare the way for compulsion, which can be rendered easier by securing the active co-operation of the parents, to see that the teachers do their duty faithfully, regularly and energetically, and to check the attendance registers of the pupils, to safeguard the children of the depressed classes and to ensure that they receive fair play, to encourage better methods of school organisation and teaching, both by advice given at the time of inspection (which should be held with some frequency) and by the holding of 'refresher' courses and gatherings of teachers The inspectors are the eyes and ears of the minister, the provincial officials and the local authorities, and from them only can trustworthy, impartial and first-hand information be obtained as to the work which the schools are doing, and the value which is being obtained for the expenditure of public money

62 So far as can be ascertained, the total number of inspectors and inspectresses employed by Government in British India decreased between the years 1917 and 1927 from 2,209 to 2,147 This decrease has possibly been accompanied by an improvement in the quality of the subordinate inspecting staff, though much remains to be done in this direction Yet during the period of this reduction, the work has been enormously increased The recognised primary schools alone increased in number by over 47,000, while the enrolment of pupils at the primary stage increased by over 2·8 millions The machinery which controls primary education has been reorganised and its administration placed in greater degree in the hands of local bodies who cannot claim or be expected

to have much expert mastery of the difficult craft of working a system of primary education Elementary Education Acts have been passed in eight provinces, courses and curricula have been revised, compulsion has been introduced in over 1,500 areas, programmes of expansion have been adopted, adult education work has been enlarged, educational expenditure has been largely augmented

63 **Inadequacy of inspecting staff.**—The average number of boys' primary schools for which a member of the subordinate inspecting staff in the provinces is responsible is as follows —

TABLE XXXIX

Average number of primary schools per inspector

Province	Type of inspecting staff	Average number of schools per inspector
Madras	Deputy and Junior Deputy Inspectors	142
Bengal	Sub Inspectors, Assistant Sub Inspectors and Inspecting Maulvis.	172
United Provinces	Sub Deputy Inspectors	96
Punjab	Assistant District Inspectors	40
Burma	Deputy Inspectors and Sub Inspectors	29
Bihar and Orissa	Sub-Inspectors	106
Central Provinces	Deputy Inspectors	57
Assam	Deputy and Sub-Inspectors	104

64 The above figures, moreover, give an incomplete picture of the responsibility of the inspecting staff for the work of visiting and inspecting primary schools In addition, the subordinate inspecting staff are responsible in most provinces for the supervision of middle vernacular schools, for vernacular training classes and for adult schools If these are added in the provinces in which they are inspected by the subordinate agency, the figures for the average number of schools to be supervised by each inspector will be —

Madras	160
Bengal	177
United Provinces	100
Punjab	80
Burma	31
Bihar and Orissa	111
Central Provinces	61
Assam	104

Again, in addition to the inspection of boys' primary schools, the subordinate male inspecting staff in some provinces, notably Bengal, inspect large numbers of girls' primary schools, and in most provinces the more inaccessible girls' schools

65 Rules and regulations prescribe the number of visits (two or three) which should be paid to each primary school during the

year In many cases, it is physically impossible (even if his travelling allotments are sufficient) for an inspector to complete his duties, especially in those areas, such as Assam or Bengal, where seasonal conditions make rapid travelling impossible For example, a sub-inspector in Assam is asked to inspect 148 schools situated in hill tracts three times a year, a total of 444 visits in 365 days When the distance to be covered, the difficulties of travelling and the not infrequent insufficiency of allotments for travelling expenses, are taken into account it is difficult to believe that the staff is sufficient even for the performance of the minimum routine duties of an inspector

66 It must also be remembered that in many provinces the new arrangements which devolve administrative responsibility on local bodies throw on the subordinate inspecting staff a very heavy burden of administrative work in carrying out the directions of these bodies or their chairmen Generally speaking, the subordinate inspectors, whether they are employed by the local bodies or not, have to work for the chairmen of local bodies and assist them in their duties as executive officers of those bodies We shall return to this subject later

In Bombay, owing to the transfer of the control of primary education to the new school authorities, there is at present a transitional period in which in some districts the Government inspecting staff has been replaced almost entirely by an inspectorate in the employ of the local authority, while in other districts the old conditions continue During our visit to Poona, we invited the inspecting staff of that district to meet us and took the opportunity of examining the nature and scope of their duties There are about nine hundred primary schools for boys and girls in the district The inspecting staff of the local authority consists of one administrative officer and seven supervisors, and there is one Government inspector for the whole district There is no inspectress Thus, the inspecting staff of the local authority have each, on the average, 130 schools to inspect in the year, while a single Government inspector is required to see that Government money is wisely spent and distributed and that the teaching is efficiently carried out in nine hundred schools

VIII —Remedies and Improvements

67 **Policy of Concentration.**—The facts and figures given in Section V of this chapter have shown in the first place, that it is very improbable that a multiplication of schools on the lines which have been generally adopted is resulting in a corresponding output of literates, and secondly, that the opening of more small and understaffed schools has often resulted in an increase of waste. Some witnesses, while realising the ineffectiveness of the present arrangements, have pointed out that, even if the existing schools have made

little headway against the forces of illiteracy, some advantage has been derived from even a short period of schooling in that parents are at least acquiring a rudimentary habit of sending their children to school which, in the course of time, may grow into something better and induce them to keep their children at school longer The argument is that some school, even a bad school, is better than nothing as a pioneer opening the way to ultimate, though distant, enlightenment It is true that the usefulness of a school cannot always be judged by what it does when it is first started and that a school which begins feebly may grow into something better after a period of probation But in view of the present circumstances of Indian education, we do not consider that the argument has any force. Although at the moment the apathy of the masses is being broken down and although children in much larger numbers are attending school, there is a grave danger lest the continuance of almost valueless schooling, such as the children receive in the majority of the single-teacher schools, will convert the parents into active opponents of education, especially if any form of compulsion is applied, and that apathy will become opposition Moreover, with her limited means, India is not in a position either to tolerate any increase in this large volume of ill-directed expenditure, or to wait indefinitely for an effective increase of literacy

68 It is fortunate that the unremunerative character of a policy of diffusion as opposed to consolidation and improvement has now been recognised in most provinces In *Madras*, after a period of very rapid expansion by means of single-teacher schools, it has now been decided "to concentrate on increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of existing schools before a further programme of expansion is adopted" * In the *United Provinces*, attention is being concentrated on the improvement and enlargement of the staffs of the present schools In *Bihar*, the Director of Public Instruction concluded his Quinquennial Review with the opinion that "improvement rather than expansion should be the first consideration" † A definite programme has now been adopted in that province for the provision of additional teachers in single-teacher schools Except in *Bengal*, therefore, the need for reorganisation rather than expansion has been recognised in those provinces in which there are the largest numbers of single-teacher schools In *Bombay*, great attention has been paid in the past to the improvement of the primary schools by providing well-trained and well-qualified teachers and by paying those teachers adequately It is significant that Bombay is in the proud position of having by far the least wastage of all the provinces Similarly, in the *Central Provinces*, although the total provision of primary schools is inadequate, the existing schools have been so organised as to keep the wastage figures comparatively low

* Madras Q R , page 77
† Bihar Q R , page 132

69 **The lengthening of the primary course.**—The strengthening of the staffs of primary schools will not, however, be in itself a sufficient remedy. From the figures already given, it has been seen that by far the greatest wastage in primary classes exists in Bengal and Bihar, in which provinces there are large numbers of lower primary schools with only three classes It is clear from the figures (para 20) of other provinces that a type of primary school with a larger number of classes has resulted in a decrease of wastage The special inquiries made by some of the provinces in a few selected areas have also shown clearly that wastage and stagnation are less pronounced in primary departments of secondary schools than in primary schools

70 In the Punjab, there has been a deliberate policy of improving the status of primary schools by the addition of two classes, so that the ordinary course will not be completed by a child at the tender age of ten or eleven and that he may be encouraged to stay at school until the age of twelve or thirteen This is the policy which has led to the establishment of schools with six classes which are called lower middle schools and as such are classified under the Government of India statistics as secondary schools The Royal Commission on Agriculture were convinced by the reasons given in support of this innovation, and attributed improvement—

> "to the better leadership and direction to be found in middle schools, to the fact that the teaching is therefore far better, and also in no small degree to the stimulus larger numbers bring to the pupils themselves" *

We quote a Table from the Report of the Commission :—

TABLE XL

Percentage of total number of primary pupils who are reading in secondary schools, 1926-27

Province	Primary pupils in primary schools	Primary pupils in secondary schools.	Total primary pupils.	Percentage of total number of primary pupils who are reading in secondary schools
Assam . .	199,343	25,687	225,030	11·4
Bengal .	1,399,535	187,566	1,587,101	11·8
Bihar and Orissa	875,666	45,756	921,422	5 0
Central Provinces and Berar.	270,072	46,184	316,256	14 6
Punjab	393,160	330,054	723,214	45 6
United Provinces .	1,038,452	18,644	1,057,096	1·8

The figures for the enrolment in the schools in Madras and Bombay do not appear in the Table, presumably because in both provinces large numbers of pupils are enrolled in upper primary schools

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 526.

(with seven or eight classes), which, though classified as primary, really correspond to the middle vernacular schools of the Punjab.

The following Table shows the number of middle vernacular schools for boys, including the upper primary schools in Madras and Bombay, in the provinces —

Province	Middle vernacular Schools.
Madras	1,690
Bombay	4,257
Bengal	47
United Provinces	626
Punjab	2,114
Burma	1,102
Bihar and Orissa	242
Central Provinces	335
Assam	145

The fact that Bombay has as many as 4,257 upper primary schools shows that, in reality, the middle vernacular system is even more strongly established in that province than in the Punjab

71 The large number of primary pupils enrolled in secondary schools in Bengal is due to the fact that, as the vast majority of the primary schools have only three classes, a large number of the pupils, whose parents desire them to receive some effective education, join the middle English schools, of which there are 1,616

72 **Branch schools.**—We are aware that one of the reasons for the great increase in the number of single-teacher schools in some provinces has been the desire that no village of reasonable size should be left unprovided with a primary school This is doubtless a laudable motive, but the hard fact remains that by following this path money which might be used to much better effect elsewhere is added to money which is already spent on schools which are of little or no value The defects of single-teacher schools and the difficulties of requiring very young children to walk considerable distances to school can be avoided to some extent by the method which has been adopted in the Punjab of establishing 'branch schools', with one or two classes, in small villages, and of placing them under the direct supervision of the teachers in central or suzerain schools There are at present 2,707 branch schools in the Punjab which are not regarded or classified as separate primary schools, but which are attached as feeders to the ordinary primary or lower middle vernacular schools, preferably the latter By adopting this method of expansion it appears possible not only to avoid the obvious disadvantages of single-teacher primary schools, but also to reduce 'wastage' by better supervision.

73 **Co-education.**—In a previous section, it has been pointed out that the arrangements for primary education are gravely handicapped by the necessity of making separate provision on a large scale for little boys and girls It is a welcome sign that the practice of sending boys and girls to the same primary school has been adopted in several provinces, particularly in Burma and Madras, and also that this difficult problem is being faced in other provinces, but it is obvious that in some provinces any impetuous attempt to bring the girls into boys' schools, without adequate safeguards and without a reasonable proportion of women teachers, would put the clock back and do more harm than good

74 **The Teacher** —As we have already pointed out, the success or failure of any scheme of instruction depends ultimately on the teacher, and far-reaching improvements are needed in the quality, training, status and pay of the teacher before real progress can be made In the first place, it is generally admitted that, as far as possible, village teachers should be recruited from amongst persons who possess and are likely to retain a sympathetic understanding of rural conditions We do not, of course, wish to imply that selection should be confined to any particular caste or castes or to any particular creed In the Punjab, a policy has been adopted in recent years of staffing rural schools with teachers who have been recruited from middle vernacular schools, (preferably from those to which agricultural farms are attached), and who have been trained in an environment and by methods calculated to inspire in them a desire to take an active and intelligent part in the life of a village In consequence, the new recruits are in close contact with their surroundings and are in a position to exercise a healthy and progressive influence on the rural population

75 In Bombay and the United Provinces, attention has been focussed in recent years on the same need In his report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, Mr Harrop has urged the need for special care in recruitment

> "The teacher taught in schools, training classes and normal schools where little that is practical or has any living relationship with village life was formerly admitted, has become an outsider in the village He is known as "Munshiji", a man versed in curious learning, but unversed in the practical business of the ordinary dweller in the village The latter is thus led to believe that education is of little value save to those who will later adopt a means of livelihood dependent on their literary ability The task before these provinces is thus three-fold First, to secure that the education in the rural vernacular schools has a closer relationship to the mass of the people; second, to increase

the efficiency of the existing teachers, so that the children shall not be dulled but enlivened in school; and third, to ensure that all new teachers appointed shall be good practical educationists interested in rural life and conditions "*

76 The strengthening of the vernacular course by a development of middle vernacular schools is an important preliminary to the recruitment of teachers who will be well suited to village requirements It is disturbing, therefore, to find† that at present the great majority of primary school teachers have never reached, in their own education, Class VII or VIII of a vernacular school, after which if they are successful they can be classed as 'middle passed' It must be remembered that a boy who progresses steadily through the school course can reach that stage at the early age of fourteen or fifteen The present condition of the middle vernacular schools in the provinces does not in most cases even afford opportunities for pupils to complete an eight-class vernacular course

The following Table shows the number and strength of middle vernacular schools for boys in the provinces

TABLE XLI

Statistics of middle vernacular schools for boys by provinces

Province and population (in millions).	Number of Institutions	Total enrolment	Highest class
Madras (42 3)	1,690	—	VIII
Bombay (19 2)	4,257	—	VIII
Bengal (46 6)	74	4,714	VII
United Provinces (45 3)	626	60,449	VII
Punjab (20 6)	456 1,658	325,871	VIII VI
Burma (13 2)	1,102	71,767	VII
Bihar and Orissa (34 0)	242	25,006	VII
Central Provinces (13 0)	335	52,776	VIII
Assam (7·6)	145	17,209	VII

In Madras and Bombay, there are no middle vernacular schools but there are higher elementary schools with eight classes In Madras,

* A further Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, 1927, page 28.

† See paragraph 58 above

the candidates for higher elementary training are also recruited from middle English schools, while in Bengal there is no possibility of recruiting teachers from the middle vernacular schools since they have practically ceased to exist

77 In Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, Bihar and Assam, the accepted qualification for admission to the training classes for primary teachers is the Vernacular Final examination * The following Table shows the number of candidates who appeared for this examination in 1927 and the number who passed

TABLE XLII.

Statistics of Vernacular Final examination, 1927

Province	Candidates	Passes	Examination held at the end of Class—
Bombay .	12,154	5,581	VII
United Provinces .	17,634	10,192	VII
Punjab . .	9,273	6,756	VIII
Burma . . .	4,299	1,590	VII
Bihar and Orissa .	2,144	1,634	VII
Assam .	1,017	756	VII

The figures show how limited is the field for recruitment, and it is evident that in most provinces teachers with much lower qualifications than a seventh class pass are selected for training Little improvement can be expected in the supply of suitable candidates for training until wastage has been sufficiently eliminated from the vernacular course to secure a steady flow of boys into the highest vernacular class and until, in provinces such as Madras and Bengal which have no healthy middle vernacular system, much higher initial qualifications are insisted on Madras has already attempted gradually to abandon its lower elementary training classes, but in Bengal the recommendation of the departmental committee on Guru Training Schools that the entrance to the training schools should be middle English or middle vernacular passed does not appear capable of being put into effect owing to the lowness of the pay offered to trained primary school teachers.

78 **The training schools.**—If the quality of the candidates applying for selection for training is low, so also is the quality of the training. In most provinces, the period of training is too short, the curriculum is narrow and the teaching staff is inadequately qualified In Bombay and the Punjab, reasonably satisfactory

* See also paragraphs 58 and 59 above.

efforts have been made to reform the training system, and in the United Provinces, the extreme importance of improving the system has at all events been now recognised

79 The best point at which to break 'the vicious circle' is undoubtedly that of the supply and training of teachers Most provinces are already saddled with large numbers of untrained and inefficient middle-aged teachers who cannot be got rid of and will not disappear from the schools for many years They handicap the schools not only because they are inefficient themselves, but because they exercise, especially if they are head teachers, a sterilising and depressing effect on the younger and well-trained recruit Many of them are incapable of much improvement by training, and for dealing with them and making them rather better than they are, inexpensive and makeshift devices may be useful Obviously the young teachers can and ought to be trained But, in our opinion, there is little hope of real progress in primary education unless a definite break is made with the policy of inconsiderately multiplying schools, and of hastily expanding ineffective arrangements or improvising new ineffective arrangements for training the additional teachers required The mischief of such a course is conspicuously illustrated by the present position of the United Provinces, which resulted from the adoption of a policy of large scale and immediate multiplication of schools in 1918

80 It seems to us quite clear that, as matters stand in India, effective arrangements for training vernacular teachers must, generally speaking, precede the expansion of primary schools, and the training of vernacular teachers itself depends upon a good supply of recruits from the middle vernacular schools Hence money spent on expansion and improvement of middle vernacular schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on almost any other of the many objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist. But efforts to improve the quality of the teachers cannot in the long run be successful unless steps are taken at the same time to place their remuneration and conditions of service on such a footing as will enable the profession to attract and retain men of good quality. The figures given in para 55 are significant

81 **Refresher courses and conferences.**—Laudable efforts have been made in some provinces to stimulate in the village teacher a desire to improve his methods of teaching and to establish some touch with recent developments This is most necessary Even under ideal conditions when the right type of teacher has been selected and well-trained, the primary school teacher, particularly the village teacher, is much isolated and must often be in need of guidance and encouragement. Journals for teachers in the vernacular, refresher courses, conferences and meetings of teachers' associations can do much to brighten the lives

of teachers and improve their work In several provinces, refresher courses are held at the training schools, and teachers' meetings and conferences form an essential part of the programme of an inspector's visit to any locality In the Punjab, the teachers' meetings are not confined to educational discussions but their activities include functions such as the institution of teachers' thrift societies and rural games associations Healthy amusement and recreation are also a valuable feature of these gatherings

82 **Changes in the curriculum.**—The ultimate object of all steps taken to improve the provision and organisation of the schools is of course the improvement of the work actually done There are welcome signs that attempts are being made in most provinces to review the curricula of vernacular schools so as to bring them and the methods of teaching into greater harmony with the needs and conditions of village children While in a primary school in India, little can be attempted at present beyond instruction in reading, writing and elementary arithmetic, and while the need of extending literacy is so great that for some time "three R's and no nonsense" must be the motto of the schools, it is essential that the instruction should be related in the early stages to matters which the village child sees and knows and understands He should be taught to read and to do sums about things which are a reality and not a mystery to him The great majority of the villages are in urgent need of better conditions of life, better sanitation, medical relief, freedom from debt, and social and intellectual awakening We therefore feel strongly that the aim of every village school should include not merely the attainment of literacy but the larger objective, namely, the raising of the standard of village life in all its aspects A well-attended school directly related to the surrounding conditions can do much towards training the younger generation in ways of hygiene, physical culture, improved sanitation, thrift and self-reliance The school itself can also, as notable examples have proved, claim a leading and respected place in the village community by directly assisting, in however simple a manner, in the provision of simple medical relief, adult instruction, vernacular literature and attractive recreation. With the present standards of teaching, buildings and equipment, progress in these directions must necessarily be slow, but the recent revision of training and school courses and the objective aimed at in the Punjab have demonstrated how far a determined policy can succeed

83 In the higher stage of the vernacular course, greater variety of treatment is possible and opportunities of widening the child's horizon are greater We refrain from discussing the agricultural training given in some of the middle vernacular schools of the Punjab, since the matter has been adequately dealt with in

the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture * It is significant, however, that in some of the provinces attempts are now being made to provide training of a similar nature Valuable training of this kind can be given effectively only in the middle vernacular schools, it is not easy to work it into the course of middle English schools, which is designed at present to prepare the boys for admission to the high schools and thence to the matriculation Unfortunately, we were compelled to abandon our proposed visit to one of the "agricultural-bias" schools in the Bombay Presidency, but were informed that schools of this type are proving a success and are being appreciated by the parents In Bengal, fifteen schools have recently been selected for the experiment of agricultural teaching on the lines developed by the Punjab Similarly, in the United Provinces, about twenty district boards have begun to experiment with agricultural classes attached to middle vernacular schools Several missionary institutions in the various provinces have also adopted a curriculum and methods of instruction similar to those in use at Moga in the Punjab (See also Chapter V, paras 28-31)

84 It is not our business to discuss the detailed organisation of school work, but there are a few minor remedies for defects which are being applied in various areas with success and which deserve notice.

85 **Plural class teaching.**—In view of the very large number of existing single-teacher schools and in view of the fact that these schools cannot be all replaced or remodelled for a considerable time, the system adopted in Bombay and Assam of giving special instruction in the training schools in the methods of plural class teaching (*i e* , the way in which one teacher can best do justice to each of the several classes of which he is in charge) is obviously beneficial Suitable training in the handling of more than one class should not only improve the teaching in single-teacher schools, but also provide valuable guidance to the teachers now working in 'branch schools'

86 **The double shift system** —Both in Assam and in Bombay experiments have been made in the double shift system in which the school is divided by the teacher into two sections, each section only sitting for half the ordinary school day Such a method enables the teacher to handle the infants and the more advanced pupils separately, thus improving the instruction given We have been told that this expedient is proving a success in Assam, but that in Bombay it does not give satisfaction either to the parents or to the authorities

We have been informed that the proposals of the Government of Bengal made in connexion with the new draft Primary Education Bill include a scheme for working primary schools on

*Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 534

a double shift system, both shifts being used for the education of boys or one shift for boys and the other for girls, according to local needs As a general system for a whole province, the scheme contains obvious dangers and difficulties

87 **Adjustment of school hours** —The adjustment of school hours and school holidays to seasonal requirements has been found in some provinces to be a useful concession to parents The permanent adjustment of school hours to hours of labour is a more doubtful device, especially where it affects children below nine or ten years of age In some areas school hours are permanently adjusted or adjusted only as seasonal needs require, so as to enable the children both to work in the fields or factories and attend school. Such an adjustment of school hours can only be regarded as a temporary measure, and this form of remedy should not, in our opinion, be allowed to obscure the fundamental principle that the proper place for young children during the day is the school house In any case, children should attend school before, and not after, they have been engaged in work

88 **Attention to the lowest class** —One cause for the great wastage and stagnation in the lower classes of primary schools where there is more than one teacher is the habit of placing the lowest class in charge of the least qualified teacher This practice has naturally resulted in the worst teaching being concentrated in the class where the most careful handling is required The lowest class in India presents peculiar difficulties, since boys and girls are admitted at present at all ages and at all times of the year, and in consequence there is additional need for special care In Indian primary schools, as they are at present, the maxim of 'the best teacher for the youngest children' is specially applicable Mr H. Dippie, who is Inspector of the Agency Tracts in Bihar, has paid particular attention to improvement of the methods of teaching used in Class I, as well as in other primary classes, and has also introduced the salutary innovation of confining school admission to a single month of the year It is clear from the figures which he placed before us that considerable improvement can be made on these lines *

89 **Lower Primary Examinations.**—It has also been suggested that the introduction of Lower Primary Certificate examinations might provide an inducement for parents to retain their children at school, at least until the lower primary course has been completed. But an effective examination on the large scale that would be required could not, in our opinion, be satisfactorily controlled. Moreover, we find no evidence to show that in the provinces in which Lower Primary examinations are held at present wastage has in consequence decreased

* Experiments in Primary Education in the Orissa Feudatory States by H. Dippie, M A , D S O , I E S. Bureau of Education Pamphlet No 25, published by the Government of India, 1928

90 **Enforced promotions.**—It has been suggested to us that one method of preventing the great stagnation, particularly in Class I, is to insist on no pupil being detained in a class for more than two years We have been informed that there are a few areas in India in which such a method has been adopted, but such a device, if widely used, might lead to abuse and accentuate the unfitness of pupils in the higher classes On the other hand, a careful supervision of promotions in each primary school as a factor in assessing the efficiency of the school and the teacher, might reduce at any rate that portion of the stagnation which is due to neglect and inefficiency For such supervision a large and well-organised inspectorate is necessary

91. **'Village Uplift' and 'Community Work.'**—During the past few years there has been a growing feeling that the village school should not be regarded merely as a place in which the village school-master teaches, and the village children learn, the elements of literacy, but that the schoolmaster and the school should become the main centres of village life "The idea", writes one of our witnesses from the Punjab, "has taken root that the village school should be a place of interest and activity with influences radiating from it to all the people in the village"

We find the same idea expressed in the important report of the Fraser Commission* entitled "Village Education in India" published in 1922, and the witness in question, the Rev A F Harper is the present head of a middle vernacular school at Moga (to which a training class is attached) founded by the American Presbyterian Mission in 1911, which has done splendid pioneer work in the training of village teachers and in the teaching of rural children, and has set an example which is now being followed in a number of places all over India

Since 1921 Mr F L Brayne, Deputy Commissioner at Gurgaon district in the Punjab, and his wife have attacked the same problem from another point of view with the object of devising "a system of education which will stimulate the educated not to flee from but to uplift village life, to strive for self-improvement instead of merely running away to the towns "†

92 In their Report on Rural Education in England and the Punjab‡ Mr R Sanderson and Mr J E Parkinson (1928) have summed up these activities in the following words —

> "At Moga, the inspiration was that of a shrewd and noble hearted missionary who was working for the good of the depressed classes; at Gurgaon, the inspiration was

*The Commission was appointed by missionary organisations in Great Britain and North America

†Village Uplift in India by F L Brayne, M C, I C S, 1927 See especially the paper read at the Lahore Educational Conference in 1926, pages 115 to 142

‡ Occasional Reports No. 15, page 14 (published by the Government of India).

that of a deputy commissioner who was determined to lift a backward district from the depths of dirt, disease and poverty The methods and results, however, are very similar, though the training at Gurgaon is somewhat wider in its application and is linked up more closely with the problems confronting the several beneficent departments of Government . . [and] Ghakkhar* has made its own contribution towards the solution of the general problem The main object has been so to train the teachers of the future that the village school shall become a centre of village life and progress Farm work and village crafts are therefore encouraged at Ghakkhar, but even more important is the doctrine of service to the village community With this purpose in view, the students under training face the problems of rural reconstruction by actual and practical work in the neighbouring villages in the matter of better sanitation, the institution and maintenance of co-operative societies, the holding of classes for adults the encouragement of village games and recreation and so forth "

The experimental work in the Punjab has led to the establishment of similar centres at Vellore in Madras, Manmad and Ankleswar in Bombay, Bhimpore in Bengal and at Umedpur in the United Provinces, and there are no doubt others to which our attention has not been drawn †

93 Another development has been the institution of village libraries

The *Punjab* Quinquennial Review states that the progress of these libraries (now about 1,500 in number) is promising, though the lack of a sufficient variety of suitable and interesting vernacular literature is a serious obstacle A deputy commissioner has observed in this connexion that some of the literature which he has seen in these libraries "would hardly tempt him to literacy even on a desert-island "‡ We desire to emphasise the necessity of providing these libraries with books which are not only instructive but attractive to the villagers

In *Madras*, in 1928, a Government grant of Rs 30,000 was sanctioned for distribution to local bodies for urban and rural libraries Since 1925-26 grants are also being paid to village panchayats for the establishment and

*i e., the Government Normal School at Ghakkhar for the training of teachers

†See Fourteen Experiments in Rural Education, edited by A B Van Doren, Association Press, Calcutta, 1928

‡Punjab Q R, page 11

maintenance of village libraries There are now more than 400 libraries of this type

The *Bombay* Quinquennial Review states that "with a view to encouraging the production of vernacular literature calculated to suit the needs of adults who have left school after completing the lower primary course steps are being taken to get suitable books on useful subjects prepared and published "*

In the *United Provinces*, "a Committee was appointed in 1921 by Government to advise upon the best methods of improving and increasing the number of public libraries and upon the inauguration of a system of travelling and circulating libraries in these provinces In accordance with the recommendations of this Committee, Government in 1924 decided to establish as an experimental measure in 1925-26 circulating libraries in a few selected districts The experiment is being tried in four districts "†

94 The Royal Agricultural Commission has commented favourably upon the activities of the Central Rural Community Board and of the District Community Councils in the Punjab —

"We are much attracted by the rural community movement which has recently been started in the Punjab The Central Rural Community Board, the personnel of which is at present predominantly official, is linked with a rural community council which has been set up in each district of the province The membership of these councils, in contrast to that of the central board, is predominantly non-official Each council is assisted in its work by the attendance of representatives of the educational, agricultural, veterinary and co-operative officers The Rural Community Board is financed by Government and its chief functions are to distribute funds to the councils and to provide literature The intention is that each district community council should co-ordinate the propaganda work of all the development departments With this end in view, lantern lectures are organised for the villages and some councils have fostered an interest in natural history through the circulation of charts The Rural Community Board has also defrayed the cost of preparing a film on co-operative subjects The councils have considerable freedom in expenditure The Community Council in the Gurgaon district, for example, has subsidised dramatic societies in the villages "‡

* Bombay Q R , page 215
† United Provinces Q R , page 63
‡ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 505

In other provinces a number of non-official agencies are engaged in rural community work In Madras, for example, six rural reconstruction centres have been established by the Indian Young Men's Christian Association, and a District Rural Reconstruction Association with a number of branches in the districts has been established at Benares in the United Provinces

95 In the uplift work in the villages women must necessarily play an important part, and in this connexion the Royal Commission on Agriculture have suggested the establishment of Women's Institutes as centres for educational and co-operative activities as well as for mother and infant welfare work They also think that such institutes would facilitate the employment of women teachers in village schools The Poona Seva Sadan Society in the Bombay Presidency has already established a number of such institutes

96 The magic lantern and the cinema have introduced a variety and interest into the education of both children and adults in remote villages previously unknown, and the possibilities of increasing the variety and interest of education in remote parts by broadcasting seem very attractive Mr Brayne looks forward to broadcasting as an important factor in the village uplift of the future * We have received an interesting memorandum on educational broadcasting from Mr G C Dunstan, formerly General Manager of the Indian Broadcasting Company, with an account of the investigation carried out in Kent at the expense of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees in 1927 † At present the small number of transmitting stations, the cost of the apparatus, and the difficulties of keeping it in order make the use of broadcasting for mass education impossible in India on any large scale; but it is quite conceivable that they may be surmounted before long

IX —Compulsion

97 With the exception of Burma, all the provinces in India have, by legislation, indicated their acceptance of the principle of compulsion. The provincial enactments have varied in their scope and character, but it is clear that India as a whole has realised that the goal of universal primary education cannot be attained without the adoption of the principle of compulsion Since the late Mr G K Gokhale introduced his bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 the leaders of public opinion have constantly urged the need of compulsion, and we have found in the reports furnished to us no indication of hostility to the proposal except on the ground of finance.

* Village Uplift in the Punjab, Asiatic Review for January, 1929, page 118.

† Published by the Trustees in 1928

The following Table shows the number of urban and rural areas in which compulsion had been introduced in April, 1927 :—

TABLE XLIII

Areas under compulsion by provinces

Province	Date of Act	Areas under compulsion	
		Municipalities and urban areas	District Board and rural areas
Madras	1920	21	
Bombay ..	1918, 1920, 1923	11	.
Bengal ..	1919		
United Provinces	1919, 1926	25	
Punjab .	1919	57	1,49.
Bihar and Orissa	1919	1	3
Central Provinces and Berar	1920	3	60
Assam . .	1926		
Delhi .	*	1	
Total		119	1,571

The Acts vary in the ages between which children are brought under compulsion In Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Punjab and Assam, the ages are 6 to 11, in Bengal and Bihar the ages are 6 to 10 and in the Central Provinces 5 to 14

98 Progress in the initial stages must necessarily be slow and difficulties are bound to arise There are indications, however, that, apart from technical flaws in the statutes, the main difficulties up to the present have been due to lack of experience and, in some cases, of interest on the part of local boards, to the inaction or inexperience of attendance officers and committees, to unwillingness to make use of the power of prosecution under the Acts and to delay in the conviction of defaulters These are not, however, insuperable difficulties and there are hopeful signs that, with greater experience and with suitable modifications in the technical machinery of the existing Elementary Education Acts, a greater measure of success will be obtained

*The Municipality of Delhi has introduced compulsion in accordance with e provisions of the Punjab Primary Education Act of 1919.

With a compulsory, as with a voluntary system, much propaganda is needed, and we consider that the success achieved in the Punjab has been due not only to a vigorous application of the scheme but in large part to the manner in which the inspecting staff, the attendance committees, the parents and the public have been trained to regard the non-attendance of pupils at school as a serious social evil

99 **Municipalities.**—In some provinces the application of compulsion has been confined by statute to municipal areas only In the initial stages this was probably wise With a settled and cohesive population, with larger financial resources and with comparatively efficient schools, municipalities are in a better position to apply compulsion than rural areas in which the villages and population are scattered, the financial resources are small, and the schools mostly unsuitable

In the Municipalities of Madras, Bombay, Lahore, and Ranchi the figures show that compulsion has largely increased enrolment; and in the municipal boards in the Agra Division of the United Provinces "the total number of boys between six and eleven years of age in attendance at compulsory schools is for the whole division in excess of the numbers estimated in the scheme" *

100 **Rural areas.**—Very little progress has been made in the enforcement of compulsion in rural areas, except in the Punjab and the Central Provinces In the former province compulsion has been followed by increased enrolment and the reduction of wastage, and its application has been assisted by the extension of the middle vernacular system In the latter province, pronounced success has attended a number of schemes in rural areas, though in a few areas attendance has not appreciably improved

101 **The State and Compulsion.**—The majority of the legislative enactments in the provinces have left the adoption of compulsion to local option Under the Bombay Primary Education Act, however, power has been given to Government to enforce the adoption of compulsion by local boards in cases in which Government consider that the time is ripe for compulsion and in which the local boards have themselves failed to initiate a scheme We understand also that the draft bills which are under the consideration of the Governments of Madras and Bengal contain similar provisions It has been argued that the retention of the principle of local option is essential in the interests of the further development of responsible local self-government Experience in Bengal, however, and, to a lesser extent, in other provinces shows that local option may result in almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies for a considerable period of time to come It seems clear that a mere enabling statute will not provide any guarantee for the speedy and widespread application of compulsion

* United Provinces Q R, page 68

In our opinion, the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State, and the provision of educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas should not be left entirely to the mercy of local authorities, who may be unwilling, either for political or other reasons, to initiate schemes by which compulsion may be financed, or who, owing to the backwardness of the area or the people, may be unable to devise suitable measures for compulsion on their own initiative Accompanied by necessary safeguards, the power to enforce compulsion should provide local Governments with the very necessary authority to supervise the expansion of mass education in the provinces in such a way that all areas and all classes of the community may benefit by the increased expenditure of public funds

102 **Necessary preliminaries to compulsion.**—We have been much struck by the feeling expressed in many places that an immediate panacea for all the defects which now darken the picture of primary education is to be found in compulsion Although we regard compulsion as essential to the ultimate success of any scheme of mass education, we realise that the immediate and widespread application of compulsion would present serious, and in some places, almost insuperable financial difficulties, and that a sound system of national vernacular education can only be developed upon lines which permit the consolidation of one position before another position is attacked In many places a drastic reorganisation of the elementary system should precede any wide application of compulsion, for an impetuous and ill-considered application of the principle would inevitably result in much unprofitable expenditure of money and even in an accentuation of many of the present evils To compel children to attend or stay in ineffective, ill-equipped and badly staffed schools, such as are found at present in large numbers in many provinces, can only result in a serious addition to the existing waste (see also para 67 above) This danger has been well illustrated by Mr Harrop in his Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces

> "For my purpose it is sufficient to note that of the 49,800 pupils in Class IV all but 8,000 or 84 per cent were aged eleven or over Suppose that one hundred boys between the ages of six and eleven are compelled under the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act to attend school On the proportion which holds at present, eighty-four at least will be able to leave school after attaining the age of eleven and before they have reached Class IV, and thus without having received any permanent benefit from education 84 per cent of the money spent on compelling these 100 boys to attend school and educating them while at school will, under present conditions, thus be

wasted. These provinces cannot afford more waste. Real expansion must, therefore, be based on an improved primary education and compulsion must not, if waste and injustice are to be avoided, go in advance of improvement' *

103 There are other precautions which should be taken before compulsion is enforced on a wide scale At present, the universal, simultaneous and unconditional application of the principle of compulsion throughout the whole of any one province would probably be impracticable † Its application must therefore be partial and local in the first instance, and depend both on the willingness of an area to adopt it and its ability to bear its share of the cost ‡

The question of what that share should be is important If Government aid is given to all districts in the same ratio to the amount raised locally, it follows inevitably that the richer districts or parts of districts will forge ahead and obtain an ever increasing share of the resources of Government available for educational purposes, leaving the poorer districts behind The contrast between rich and poor districts or parts of districts will be accentuated; and the poorer, which have just as much need of educational facilities and more need of help, may find that, being last in the field, there is no money left to enable them to apply compulsion even when they are ready to do so The poorer districts or parts of districts should therefore be required to bear a smaller share of the cost of compulsion than the richer ones

If, again, compulsion under the Act is applied throughout a large area it also follows in most cases that very expensive provision will have to be made in isolated areas where there are very few inhabitants

In the Punjab, the practice has been to make the ratio between Government subsidies and the amount raised locally a variable one which is fixed in reference to the resources and requirements of each district § Moreover, the policy is not to attempt to apply compulsion throughout a large area, but rather to build up strong vernacular schools in rural areas and then gradually to extend the sphere of compulsion from one village to another as soon as each single school area appears to be ripe for compulsion It is probable that the employment of such methods is conducive to the rapid and equitable application of compulsion In every province, to a greater or lesser extent, there must be already a large number of schools which are well-attended and in which, with some additions to the staff and possibly to the buildings, compulsion might be applied immediately and economically

*Further Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, 1927, page 3

†See also para 67 above

‡It should be noted that wherever primary education has been made compulsory in India, it has also been made free

§A similar arrangement has been introduced in Bihar

104 **Parents' Societies.**—The success of schemes for voluntary self-imposed compulsion, such as has attended the working of the Parents' Societies in the Punjab has, we believe, given rise to the suggestion that a possible *interim* remedy for part of the evils of the present wasteful system might be the adoption of a form of compulsion which would aim only at the retention of pupils in school for a stated number of years, once the pupils had commenced the primary course The advantages of such a proposal, if it can be made effective, are obvious, and its adoption, even allowing for the continuance of stagnation, would enormously increase the number of pupils who reach Class V The proposal also has the advantage that in local areas in which the provision of funds presents the greatest obstacle in the way of the adoption of satisfactory programmes for advance, the additional expenditure involved in compelling pupils to continue in school would be comparatively small Further, the great waste due to the uneconomic character of the vast majority of the existing primary schools would be eliminated and a system would be established whereby at least there would be a reasonable chance of the majority of pupils at present in attendance becoming permanently literate It might be worthy of consideration whether punitive measures should not be taken with greater vigour against those who send their children to school and cause public money spent on their children to have been wasted by withdrawing them from school before they have had the time to benefit by their schooling, for, in the words of the Agricultural Commission, "it is more important to stop the wastage than to strain after the last truant" *

105 The adoption of compulsion is important and urgent as an effective means of checking the wastefulness of the present voluntary and haphazard system of primary education in India If the problem is considered from this aspect, then again we agree with the Royal Commission on Agriculture that "it should not be difficult to convince local bodies of the unwisdom of failure on their part to obtain good value for money spent" * Compulsion should be a means of reducing and not of increasing waste, and waste there must be unless there is at hand an adequate number of efficient administrators and inspectors whose business it will be to review the present resources, to make proposals for an effective concentration of schools and to make plans whereby money should be economically spent

106 In these remarks, we have purposely excluded the question whether and how far provincial revenues, even if augmented by the produce of local cesses, are adequate to finance a system of universal compulsion We return to this subject later

*Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 524

CHAPTER V.

Education for the Directing Classes;* Secondary Schools for Boys.

1 We have dealt with mass education in some detail, but both on account of the short time available and for other reasons, we limit ourselves in dealing with secondary education to certain broad considerations

While the condition of mass education must cause grave concern, secondary education is, by contrast, well advanced so that, although there are many defects in the system, it is already making a real contribution towards the building up of a directing class

I —Classification and control

2 **Types of schools.**—Apart from the middle vernacular schools which have already been referred to in the previous chapter, the secondary schools in India fall into three main categories the middle English school (or the anglo-vernacular middle school, as this type of institution is termed in certain of the provinces), the high school, and the vernacular high school, which is only found in Burma In all provinces, the middle English school leads up to the high stage of instruction, but the line of demarcation between the middle and the high stages varies in different provinces The following Table shows how the stages are at present divided —

Province	Length of course in years	
	Middle stage	High stage
Madras	3	3
Bombay	3	4
Bengal	2	4
United Provinces	4	2
Punjab	4	2
Burma	3	3
Bihar and Orissa	2	4
Central Provinces	1	3
Assam	2	4

In Bombay and the Central Provinces, the middle English and the high stages together extend over seven years, in the other provinces, over six years

3 The main differences between the anglo-vernacular and the vernacular course are that the latter aims at being very largely

* By "education for the directing classes" we mean the system of secondary and higher education referred to in paragraph 2 of Chapter I as designed to produce competent and trustworthy representatives and officials

a complete course in itself, while the former, as things stand at present, is mainly designed to lead up through the matriculation to the intermediate and degree stages of instruction, and that, whereas in vernacular schools English, if taught at all, is optional, in anglo-vernacular schools, it is compulsory The actual teaching of English as a subject is commenced before the middle stage in Burma, Assam, Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces, but only at the middle stage in other provinces

4 In the vernacular high schools in *Burma*, English is not usually taught, though the demand for English classes is stated to be increasing In anglo-vernacular schools the medium of instruction is usually English, but in recent years the movement for using the vernacular as the medium of instruction in subjects other than English has rapidly spread In *Madras*, since 1925, when the use of vernaculars was permitted as the medium of instruction and examination in all non-language subjects in the highest classes, a certain number of schools have adopted the vernacular, and approximately one-fifth of the total number of high schools are now using it In *Bombay*, the majority of the high schools still use English as the medium of instruction, but since the year 1926 permission has been given to the candidates for the School Final examination to answer in the vernacular question-papers in history and in a classical Indian language In *Bengal*, all high schools, we understand, will begin to adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction in 1930 In the *United Provinces Assam* and the *Punjab*, the vernacular is used as the medium of instruction in the middle stage In *Bihar*, almost all the high schools use the medium of the vernacular, but in the Government high schools dual vernacular and English sections are maintained In the *Central Provinces*, all Government high schools continue to use English as the medium In *Burma*, in English and anglo-vernacular high schools, English is the medium of instruction, and English is also used in the middle stage and in most middle English schools

5 In all the provinces, except Bombay and the Central Provinces, the high and middle English schools usually have primary classes attached to them In the Punjab, it is unusual for a Government high school to have a preparatory department, because the provision of primary education is regarded as being within the scope of local bodies, who either maintain their own schools or award grants to aided primary schools and to primary departments of aided secondary schools

In addition to high and middle schools, there are in some provinces intermediate colleges with high and middle and even primary classes attached to them, but the two intermediate classes of these institutions which follow the high stage, are everywhere

classified as belonging to the university stage except in the United Provinces

6 **Control.***—Not only the classification but the method of control of secondary schools varies from province to province Control is exercised in different provinces by or through three different kinds of authority, Government, universities and special boards In most provinces Government exercises considerable control over secondary schools through the conditions attached to the grant of recognition or aid

In *Madras*, secondary schools are recognised by the Director of Public Instruction on the recommendation of the inspectors Government grants subsidies to recognised publicly managed schools and the Director of Public Instruction grants aid to recognised privately managed schools

In each district there is a District Secondary Education Board consisting of elected and nominated members, but its functions are purely advisory

All schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors

The Final School examination is the Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination, a Government examination conducted by a Board consisting of members nominated by Government and of representatives of the two universities in the Presidency With certain restrictions this examination is accepted by the universities as equivalent to a university entrance examination The universities make their own rules as to the subjects they recognise and the percentage of marks required, and on the basis of these rules a list of candidates eligible for admission to the universities is published

The majority of the schools are managed by private agencies but local bodies maintain some schools and a few model schools are managed direct by Government

In *Bombay*, the control over secondary schools is divided between Government, the Education Department and the University The Education Department recognises all schools for purposes of grant-in-aid and subsidies, which are sanctioned in the same manner as in Madras Schools not recognised by the Education Department are debarred from presenting pupils at the various Government examinations The University recognises

* More details are given in Chapter XVI, paras 35 to 88, with regard to the control of provincial Governments and local bodies

schools for the purpose of presenting candidates for the Final School examination conducted by the University. "The University, through the School Leaving Examination Board, affiliates schools for the School-leaving examination Before doing so, it satisfies itself from the report of a special inspection committee (composed of its own members) that a school is up to the required standard The Board is also supplied with copies of the inspection reports of the Government inspecting officers"* The School Leaving Examination Board consists of twelve members, nine elected by the Senate and three co-opted As in Madras, for the purposes of admission to the University a candidate has to pass in certain prescribed subjects at the Final School examination

All schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors

"It is the declared policy of Government to maintain one full high school in each district to serve as a model"* Far the largest proportion of the schools, however, are privately managed schools

In *Bengal*, the high schools in the Dacca University area are controlled and recognised by the Dacca Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, which is a body consisting largely of nominees of Government The Board holds its own High School and Intermediate examinations In the rest of the province the University of Calcutta recognises high schools as qualified to prepare and send up candidates for the matriculation examination held by the University Subsidies and grants-in-aid to all secondary schools are sanctioned by Government and by the Director of Public Instruction respectively For this purpose schools are recognised by the Director of Public Instruction

The inspection of all schools is carried out by the departmental inspectors

A feature of Bengal is the immense preponderance of privately managed (and often unaided) institutions Local bodies do not maintain any considerable number of schools

In the *United Provinces*, the Director of Public Instruction recognises secondary schools for purposes of grant-in-aid and subsidy, but the Final School examination is

* Bombay Q R , pages 41 and 42

conducted by a Board of High School and Intermediate Education which recognises institutions for the purpose of its examinations and prescribes courses of study It recognises institutions outside the province in areas such as Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara It has no financial powers and its regulations are subject to the approval of the Minister The Board is a body of thirty-eight members, elected and nominated, representing different interests but largely composed of educationists The Aligarh and Benares Universities, while recognising the examinations of the Boards, conduct their own matriculation or admission examinations subject to certain conditions

The inspection of all schools is carried out by the departmental inspectors

The majority of the schools are managed by private agencies or by Government

In the *Punjab*, secondary schools are recognised by the Director of Public Instruction and are aided and subsidised by Government Both the matriculation and the School Leaving Certificate examinations are conducted by a University Board

All schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors

A remarkable feature of the province is the large proportion of high schools managed by Government, more than a quarter of the whole, which is the result of a deliberate policy of provincialisation On the other hand, a large number of middle schools are managed by district boards and private agencies

In *Burma*, all schools, other than vernacular high schools, are recognised by the Director of Public Instruction and grant-in-aid and subsidies are sanctioned by the Director of Public Instruction and Government respectively The vernacular high schools are recognised by the district school boards which consist of members elected by the district councils There is a Secondary School Board of twenty members—twelve non-officials, four officials and four representatives of the University This Board conducts the English and Anglo-vernacular school and middle school examinations and advises the Director of Public Instruction on all matters connected with secondary education The Director of

Public Instruction is Chairman of the Board There is in addition a Council of National Education controlling forty-four national schools which were originally opened during the period of non-co-operation but now receive grants-in-aid from the Education Department

The inspection of all schools is undertaken by the departmental inspectors

The majority of the schools are managed by private agencies or by Government

In *Bihar*, high schools are controlled by the Board of Secondary Education This Board consists of twenty two members, some nominated by Government, some elected by Patna University Senate, and some by the non-official members of the Legislative Council The Board has the power of recognising high schools, subject to the concurrence of the University, for the purpose of presenting candidates at the matriculation examination The Board submits to Government the budget of the amount required for grants to the institutions under its control and distributes the grants It has the right to initiate proposals and to be consulted on general questions of policy connected with the schools under its control Middle English schools are recognised and aided by the Director of Public Instruction The Final School examination is the matriculation, which is conducted by the examination Delegacy for Secondary Schools constituted by the University The Delegacy also conducts the Government School Leaving Certificate examination

The inspection of high schools is conducted by the Board of Secondary Education and is carried out either by small committees appointed by the Board or by the officers of the Education Department All middle English schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors

The great majority of the schools are under private management

In the *Central Provinces*, high schools are under the control of the High School Education Board, which consists of representatives of different interests such as the University, the Legislative Council, local bodies,

women and minorities, and of which the Director of Public Instruction is chairman The Board has the power of recognising high schools and of prescribing courses of study and text-books for high and middle schools It also conducts the Final School examination The Director of Public Instruction recognises all secondary schools other than high schools and grant-in-aid to all schools is given by the Education Department

The inspection of all schools is conducted by the departmental inspectors

Few schools are maintained by local bodies and the majority are managed by aided agencies or by Government

In *Assam*, the position with regard to the high schools is the same as that in Bengal, the high schools of Assam being within the jurisdiction of Calcutta University, as far as the matriculation examination is concerned For purposes of grants-in-aid and subsidy, all schools are recognised by the Director of Public Instruction

The inspection of all schools is carried out by the departmental inspectors

Local bodies maintain only a few schools and the majority are managed by private agencies or by Government

7 The preceding paragraph shows that the powers of the universities in regard to the recognition of schools for the purpose of the matriculation examination and the conduct of that examination have been devolved in some provinces on other bodies The change has taken place largely owing to the view expressed by the Calcutta University Commission and by others that while a university should be at liberty to exact such conditions and standards as it deems advisable from those who desire to enter its own classes, the recognition of schools and the conduct of the examination should rest with some other authority, although that authority should include university representatives It has been pointed out that by such devolution a university would be relieved from many irksome duties and be able to pay undivided attention to the organisation and improvement of its own teaching Even where the universities have retained complete control of the recognition of schools and of matriculation, steps have been taken by which the conduct of that examination, the prescription of school courses and the recognition of schools, have been withdrawn very largely from the Senates and Syndicates and placed in the hands of separate committees or boards

8 The following Table shows the total number of high schools and middle English Schools by management and provinces —

TABLE XLIV

Number of high and middle English schools by management and provinces

Province	Government	District Board	Municipal Board	Aided	Unaided	Total
			For males			
Madras	16	180	50	303	5	554
Bombay	28	38	65	253	58	442
Bengal	46	43	6	1,629	895	2,619
United Provinces	49	*Nil*	7	162	31	249
Punjab	82	100	28	231	78	519
Burma	48	4	3	206	*Nil*	261
Bihar and Orissa	31	27	4	331	63	456
Central Provinces	75	*Nil*	42	74	14	205
Assam	23	7	2	108	60	200
British India	418	407	223	3,388	1,209	5,645
			For females			
Madras	18	2	2	77	*Nil*	99
Bombay	6	*Nil*	3	69	9	87
Bengal	8	*Nil*	2	77	3	90
United Provinces	*Nil*	*Nil*	1	63	2	66
Punjab	8	*Nil*	2	23	1	34
Burma	*Nil*	*Nil*	1	57	*Nil*	58
Bihar and Orissa	3	*Nil*	*Nil*	17	1	21
Central Provinces	2	*Nil*	*Nil*	17	2	21
Assam	6	*Nil*	*Nil*	15	4	25
British India	51	2	13	443	24	533

II —Schools and Enrolment

9 **Expansion.**—The following Tables show the increase in the number of recognised schools (high and middle English) for boys and their enrolment between 1917 and 1927 —

TABLE XLV

Number of recognised high and middle English schools for boys—British India

	1917	1922	1927
High Schools	1,584	2,040	2,444
Middle Schools	2,906	2,864	3,201
Total	4,490	4,904	5,645

TABLE XLVI

Number of high schools for boys by provinces

Province	1917	1922	1927.
Madras	188	292	342
Bombay	122	143	187
Bengal	707	887	1,003
United Provinces	143	184	161
Punjab	136	203	301
Burma	68	80	149
Bihar and Orissa	100	119	135
Central Provinces	43	43	49
Assam	36	41	45

TABLE XLVII

Enrolment of high schools for boys by provinces *

Province and male population (in millions)	1917	1922	1927
Madras (20 0)	103,994	124,988	139,477
Bombay (10 2)	40,343	47,770	68,040
Bengal (24 2)	220,354	193,343	238,461
United Provinces (23 8)	44,808	46,103	59,788
Punjab (11 3)	54,135	75,776	114,863
Burma (6 8)	18,093	17,655	40,251
Bihar and Orissa (16 8)	34,734	24,645	38,197
Central Provinces (7 0)	4,928	3,021	4,902
Assam (4 0)	13,481	11,102	15,299
British India (127)	547,569	559,258	744,444

*The figures include pupils in the middle and primary departments, if any

TABLE XLVIII.

Number of middle English schools by provinces

Province	1917	1922.	1927
Madras	189	218	212
Bombay	266	233	262
Bengal	1,610	1,478	1,616
United Provinces	85	75	88
Punjab	135	178	218
Burma	100	100	112
Bihar and Orissa	230	260	321
Central Provinces	153	150	156
Assam	113	126	155

TABLE XLIX

**Enrolment of middle English schools by provinces*

Province and male population (in millions)	1917	1922	1927
Madras (20 9)	35,802	29,997	27,583
Bombay (10 2)	21,541	19,123	19,912
Bengal (24 2)	162,066	110,412	142,684
United Provinces (23 8)	10,964	6,412	10,724
Punjab (11 3)	28,448	36,912	48,539
Burma (6 8)	14,154	12,368	17,292
Bihar and Orissa (16 8)	23,873	19,615	34,009
Central Provinces (7 0)	16,158	13,487	23,511
Assam (4 0)	11,183	7,867	13,412
British India (127)	328,766	264,158	349,233

*The figures include pupils in the primary departments, if any

10 The next Table shows to what extent the addition of new high schools has been followed by an increase in the total number of pupils

TABLE L

Average increase in number of pupils for addition of each high school for the period 1917 to 1927 by provinces

Province.	Increase in high schools, 1917–1927	Increase in pupils	Average increase in number of pupils for each school added
Madras	154	35,483	230
Bombay	65	27,697	426
Bengal	296	18,107	61
United Provinces	18	14,980	832
Punjab	165	60,728	368
Burma	81	22,158	273
Bihar and Orissa ..	35	3,463	99
Central Provinces	6	—26	..
Assam	9	1,818	202

Provision of new high schools in a province ought normally to result in a proportionate increase in the number of high school pupils The preceding Table roughly indicates whether this expectation has been fulfilled, though where the aggregate figures of increase are large they may be due to expansion of existing schools as well as to provision of new schools, and where they are small they may be due to contraction of existing schools as well as to failure of new schools to attract pupils The last column of the Table is merely an arithmetical distribution of the additional pupils among the additional schools But the figures do appear to indicate that in Bengal, Bihar and the Central Provinces, the economic limit of the provision of new high schools has been reached, and that in those provinces, apart from undeveloped areas which are not supplied with high schools, the improvement and consolidation of existing high schools are needed rather than the multiplication of their number

11 **Distribution of schools** —Although the provision of secondary schools may not be excessive in the aggregate, there is evidence that, in most provinces, their distribution is unequal A recent survey in *Madras* has shown that there are many ill-attended and uneconomic schools in close proximity to large schools and that the more prosperous areas have been favoured at the expense of the backward areas In the *United Provinces*, and in *Bengal* in particular, we have been informed in evidence that the distribution of the schools is very unequal In the *Punjab*, there has been a similar unevenness, though steps have been taken towards improvement The Annual Report for 1925-26 states that—

> " In the sphere of anglo-vernacular education, there has been the same tendency to encourage the forward, but to discourage the backward The result is that there is an ample, possibly too ample, provision of anglo-vernacular education in the progressive and urban areas, while in the backward and rural areas schools of this type are painfully few and far between Perhaps the main and the most effective means of encouraging the countryside is the provincialisation of high schools in rural areas, which policy is beneficial to those areas in many ways During the last five years as many as forty-four such schools have been provincialised "*

III —Expenditure and fees

12. The following Table shows the total direct expenditure from all sources on secondary education by provinces

*Annual Report, 1925-26, pages 14, 15

TABLE LI.

Expenditure on secondary schools for boys by provinces

(Including middle vernacular schools)

Province	1917.	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	47,20,243	75,01,789	89,77,661
Bombay	35,97,533	55,76,973	75,10,232
Bengal	86,39,772	1,02,84,804	1,28,34,655
United Provinces	39,80,983	67,64,326	77,85,027
Punjab	33,79,680	68,75,785	1,13,60,393
Burma	30,08,368	44,25,404	76,40,108
Bihar and Orissa	17,13,017	23,39,590	32,29,583
Central Provinces	12,59,701	22,48,011	27,14,302
Assam	7,28,064	10,88,974	13,12,097
British India	3,19,29,182	4,87,26,905	6,61,94,390

The percentages of increase in the direct expenditure of secondary schools in the different provinces between the years 1917 and 1922 and between 1922 and 1927 were as follows —

TABLE LII

Percentage of increase in direct expenditure on secondary schools for boys, 1917—1927

(Including Middle Vernacular Schools)

Province	1917—22	1922—27
Madras	58 9	19 7
Bombay	55 0	34 7
Bengal	19 0	24 8
United Provinces	69 9	15 1
Punjab	103 4	65 2
Burma	47·1	72 7
Bihar and Orissa	36 6	38 0
Central Provinces	78 4	20 7
Assam	49 6	20 5

The high figures for the Punjab are mainly due to the policy of converting primary schools into lower middle vernacular schools which are classed as secondary In Burma also there are a large number of middle vernacular schools similarly classified

12 The following Table shows by provinces the proportions contributed by Government and local funds, fees and other sources to the total direct expenditure expressed as percentages —

TABLE LIII

Percentage of contributions by sources to direct expenditure on secondary schools for boys by provinces.

(Including middle vernacular schools)

Province	Government Funds			Local Board Funds			Fees			Other sources		
	1917	1922	1927	1917	1922	1927	1917	1922	1927	1917	1922	1927
Madras	11 1	19 9	23 4	2 3	6 5	8 1	68 7	55 7	52 2	17 9	17 9	16 3
Bombay	26 4	33 8	29 1	3 0	2 4	3 3	50 6	43 7	50 0	20 0	20 1	17 6
Bengal	11 7	16 6	16 2	3 2	3 3	3 2	71 5	62 8	63 9	13 6	17 3	16 7
United Provinces	28 1	50 4	51 3	12 9	9 1	7 4	43 1	26 8	28 8	15 8	13 6	12 5
Punjab	22 0	35 9	45 6	17 7	14 4	13 2	49 2	34 6	31 7	11 1	15 1	9 5
Burma	32 1	43 5	34 9	20 9	21 4	22 8	40 3	25 3	26 3	6 7	9 8	16 0
Bihar and Orissa	16 9	32 7	27 2	9 5	8 2	15 2	59 6	40 3	46 3	14 0	18 8	11 3
Central Provinces	28 5	52 8	48 4	35 8	23 6	18 5	26 3	15 4	26 2	9 4	8 2	6 9
Assam	26 3	46 8	46 2	12 7	8 3	9 4	51 3	35 8	37 7	9 7	9 1	6 7
British India	20 0	33 1	33 7	9 6	9 2	9 9	56 3	42 0	42 3	14 1	15 7	14 1

The figures for contributions from Government funds and local board funds in 1917 do not accurately represent the facts, since in that year large grants made by Government to local boards were classified as local board expenditure.

14 The proportion contributed by Government funds has increased in every province, and in two, Madras and the Punjab, it has more than doubled in the last ten years In the latter province this is due very largely to the policy of establishing Government high schools in backward areas In the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Assam about half the total cost of secondary education is now met from Government funds On the other hand, fees, in Bengal, bear almost two-thirds of the cost, in Madras and Bombay, half, in the United Provinces, Burma and the Central Provinces, only a little over a fourth Speaking generally, except in Bombay, the most notable feature is the increase of the cost to Government and the proportionate decrease in the fee income The total amount of fees in secondary schools for boys was Rs 15,771,414 in 1917, Rs 17,734,627 in 1922 and Rs 24,304,498 in 1927—an increase

of 54 6 per cent in the decade Fees meet 63 9 per cent of the total cost in Bengal and only 26 2 per cent in the Central Provinces

15 The rate of fees has not appreciably risen in anglo-vernacular schools except in Bombay and the Central Provinces and in some provinces it has actually decreased The following Table gives the rate of fees in the several provinces

TABLE LIV

Average annual fee per pupil in boys' anglo-vernacular schools by provinces

	1917	1922	1927.
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	20 6	23 0	24 1
Bombay	23 2	29 8	34 2
Bengal	15 3	19 2	19 2
United Provinces	24 1	26 6	23 1
Punjab	16 9	18 0	17 9
Burma	31 5	31 2	28 9
Bihar and Orissa	16 4	19 2	18 0
Central Provinces	13 8	18 8	21 2
Assam	14 8	17 8	14 9
British India	18 1	21 3	21 5

The differences between the provinces are remarkable In Bombay the fees are approximately twice as high as those in Assam and Bihar and the average fee in Burma is ten rupees higher than the fee in Bengal The rates of fees cannot be regarded as high The fact that the average is less than Rs 2 per mensem may account in part for the small variety of courses and the narrow curriculum of the schools

16 The following Table shows the average annual cost per pupil in a boys' anglo-vernacular secondary school :—

	1917.	1922.	1927.
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	29 9	41 3	46 1
Bombay	45 9	68 1	68 5
Bengal	21 1	30 3	30 0
United Provinces	51 5	85 2	69·5
Punjab	31 8	44 0	40 0
Burma	63 3	99 1	87 2
Bihar and Orissa	25 8	44 4	35 8
Central Provinces	39 6	80 6	58 8
Assam	25 5	42 2	33 6
British India	30 2	45 9	44 7

In every province except Madras and Bombay, there has been a decrease in the cost per pupil since 1922 and this is probably to

IV.—The scope of the secondary system

17 In recent years there has been much discussion of certain important questions of organisation such as the constitution of the proper authority for recognising secondary schools, and the relation of the intermediate classes to the university and the secondary systems But these matters appear to us as of less importance than the main educational problem of how to provide varied forms of training for life and employment, suitable for the large numbers of boys of varied attainments and circumstances in the secondary stage

18 **Uniformity of the system of high and middle English schools.**—In the present system, all sections of the community, with their different occupations, traditions and outlook, and with their different ambitions and aptitudes, have little, if any, choice of the type of school to which they will send their children In fact, the present type of high and middle English school has established itself so strongly that other forms of education are opposed or mistrusted and there is a marked tendency to regard the passage from the lowest primary class to the highest class of a high school as the normal procedure for every pupil There is nothing corresponding to the exodus from many English secondary schools either into practical life or into a vocational institution The limited extent to which pupils are diverted from the general stream of education at the end of the middle stage is shown in the following Table which gives the percentages of those in the highest class of the middle stage who proceeded to the lowest class of the high stage in the various provinces in 1927

Madras	74·7
Bombay	40·7
Bengal	74·0
United Provinces	84 6
Punjab	63 4
Bihar and Orissa	55 0
Burma	19 0
Central Provinces	49 4
Assam	69·4

19 This uniform flow of pupils to the high stage, except in Bombay, Burma and the Central Provinces, is all the more remarkable, since the figures include, except in the case of the United Provinces, the pupils enrolled in the middle vernacular schools, which are supposed to form a complete course In themselves, the

figures are satisfactory in so far as they show that wastage, which forms so depressing a feature of the primary school system, is in no way so prevalent in the secondary schools, but they are disturbing in that they point to the lack of other and more practical forms of training than those given in the high schools

20 The reason for the uniformity of the course in the middle English and high schools is not far to seek, it is the influence of the matriculation and all that this means to the Indian boy, both as an immediate qualification for service, and as a gate to a university course and the possession of a degree as a higher qualification for service

21 The lure of Government service through matriculation is still potent In some provinces a School Final examination has been set up, entirely distinct from the matriculation examination, with the double object of providing an alternative qualification for entry into Government service and of widening the secondary curriculum by permitting the inclusion of vocational and pre-vocational subjects But this innovation has been to a great extent a failure, for in the provinces in which it has been introduced the number of candidates for matriculation has been largely in excess of those for the School Final examination We cannot say how far this may be due in particular cases to the continued insistence of Government on matriculation as a minimum qualification for almost every form of public employment But it is this practice, no doubt, which maintains and strengthens the belief in matriculation as the only goal of anglo-vernacular education, and confines the courses in the high schools to the narrow path leading to it *

V —Matriculation in its relation to anglo-vernacular schools

22 The matriculation examination has two aspects which we shall consider separately —

(1) as the terminus of the ordinary anglo-vernacular school course which it so largely controls,

(2) as the qualification for entry to the intermediate course

We consider now the first aspect and ask how far the anglo-vernacular course and the matriculation are adjusted to each other? The examination results shown in the following Table give important information on this point —

TABLE LV

Percentage of successful candidates at matriculation by provinces

	1916-17	1921 22	1926-27
Bombay	45	50	41
Bengal	73	78	53
United Provinces	48	50	55
Punjab	68	72	53

* It should be pointed out that the path is particularly narrow in some provinces, *e g*, Bengal, where no scientific subjects except mechanics and hygiene are included in the high school course In some other provinces it is wider

23 The number of failures is in many cases great Is the standard, considered as a measure of attainment and capacity of the successful candidates, too high? The general trend of evidence to which we shall refer later shows that on the contrary it is in many cases deplorably low, and that where the standard of passes is higher than elsewhere, the standard of attainment is correspondingly lower

It is of course true that the percentage of failures at school leaving examinations is as high in some other countries as in India Clearly, where this occurs, if the standard of examination is a right one, there must be something radically wrong at an earlier stage, due either to defective teaching or organisation of the schools, or to the unsuitability of the courses to the natural aptitude of the pupils

24 One of the defects in the present system appears to be a defect of organisation In the opinion of competent witnesses, the large number of failures at matriculation is in part due to the laxness of the promotions from class to class Very many of the pupils are reported to be reading at the high stage who in a reasonably selective system would never have been permitted to advance so far on the road to collegiate education The plain fact is evident that a large number of boys are now wasting time, effort and money by following the existing course in secondary classes and that the waste is pitiful

25 The following quotations illustrate the point —

In *Madras*, the Quinquennial Review states that "the District Educational officers report that every effort has been made to check improper promotions, but unfortunately the reports received from the Secondary School Leaving Certificate examiners show that promotions are even now by no means satisfactory in all districts The Chief Examiners in English have reported almost every year that a great many schools send up for the Public Examination a number of candidates who do not deserve to be in Form VI at all Such a state of affairs means, in all probability, that the promotions made in the lower forms in the schools have not been satisfactory "*

In *Bombay*, the Quinquennial Review states that "the fact would appear to be that many of the pupils promoted to the higher standards have not the mental capacity for such studies and should more properly have been weeded out of the secondary school at an early stage for a form of study or an occupation better suited to their capacity But experience has shown that the

*Madras Q R, page 58

majority hanker after the School Leaving examination, the certificate for service, while even to have studied in the 7th standard carries with it a certain commercial value The remedy lies with the schoolmaster—to refuse promotion to all except those who are indisputably fit for the higher classes "*

In the *Central Provinces*, the Quinquennial Review discusses the various reasons that have been advanced for the unsatisfactory examination results and states that "it is alleged that promotion from one class to another is too easily earned, this is being remedied A tightening up of the test for promotion is bound to produce temporary hardship but will have beneficial results as soon as teachers and pupils realise that promotion can be earned by more steady and accurate work "†

VI —Suggested remedies for waste in the present system

26 We have not been able to examine in any detail the courses and the subjects leading up to the matriculation examination, but they appear to us to have sufficient variety to meet requirements in most cases But we think that, as has already been suggested, a large number of the pupils in high schools would benefit more by being in schools of another type

Two kinds of remedies suggest themselves —

(1) The retention in the middle vernacular schools of more of the boys intended for rural pursuits, accompanied by the introduction of a more diversified curriculum in those schools,

(2) The diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle stage, for which provision should be made by alternative courses in that stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools

27 **Retention of more boys in the middle vernacular system.**— In a previous chapter, we have drawn attention to the fact that the vast bulk of the population live in villages, and that nearly 75 per cent of the total population is dependent on agricultural occupations The creation of a suitably devised educational system for the rural areas is therefore in our view of the first importance

28 We have already stated that, at the primary stage, the courses should be confined, for the present, very largely to the three R's, though care should be taken to ensure that instruction should be related to matters which the village child sees and knows and understands, and that his teachers should be men who

*Bombay Q R, page 51
†Central Provinces Q R, page 34

understand and are sympathetic to the ordinary conditions of rural life But there is ample scope for a wider and a more distinctive curriculum in the middle stage of a vernacular school, here again, it is essential to adapt the scheme of rural education to rural conditions and requirements We have already referred to the arrangements made in the Punjab and elsewhere, whereby elementary agriculture is included as a subject in many of these schools —

> " The aim is to enrich the middle school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training and thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of the pupils, and the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an important accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools "*

There is no reason why the scope of rural middle schools should not be made even more efficient for their purpose by the inclusion of teaching in the elementary principles of improved village sanitation and of the maintenance of co-operative societies, and in other subjects calculated to improve the well-being of rural areas

29 The Royal Commission on Agriculture, dealing with the drift from rural areas to the anglo-vernacular schools and to the towns, wrote as follows —

> " In a population where only one man in six is even literate and where, until recently, little more than the minimum of secondary education sufficed to make employment under Government or in some business house practically certain of attainment, it is obvious that the boy from the village who had acquired that education found himself in a very special position His fellows regarded him as possessing a qualification in virtue of which he could, almost for the asking, obtain employment of a kind which was beyond their reach Scarcity of a desirable thing always gives it a high, even if it be a fictitious, value That value, in the case of secondary education for the boy from a rural area, has hitherto lain in the road it has opened out to him for work in the towns This has contributed to the drift of educated boys from the village to the town which still continues though the conditions which gave rise to it are rapidly changing The supply of educated men for ordinary routine work under Government and in business houses now exceeds the demand . . In so far as it [unemployment] is accentuated by the drift of educated boys from the villages to the towns, there to swell the ranks of the educated unemployed, it can, in our

* Punjab Government Circular, 1923

> view, only be remedied by the spread of education in rural areas in combination with an improvement in the amenities of village life When the percentage of male literacy rises to seventy-five .. we believe that the feeling, which undoubtedly exists at present, that in cultivating his holding and undertaking manual labour generally, an educated man is failing to make the best use of his opportunities will have largely disappeared Long before seventy-five per cent of the male population is literate, what is perhaps already suspected will, we hope, become generally appreciated, namely, that the number of clerical posts available is quite insufficient to absorb all those who have attained the standard of a moderate secondary education The day will then have come when literacy, once coveted as the passport from field to office, will take its due place as a bare requirement of rural respectability "*

30 We go further than the Royal Commission and hold that, even now, if the middle vernacular course were remodelled and adapted to rural requirements, and if the opportunities of rural work and service now open to those who complete that course were more widely realised, then not only would the gravity of the problems confronting anglo-vernacular education be diminished, but rural reconstruction and improvement would be materially assisted We have already pointed out that a large number of vernacular ' middle pass ' men are urgently required each year to be trained as the primary school teachers of the future, and that by this means only can the primary schools be put on a sound and healthy basis As the development of education in rural areas and the work of rural reconstruction proceeds, there will be required a host of men who have received a good general education suited to the needs of their several callings India should look forward to the day when her soldiers, policemen, postmen, builders, farmers, etc , will be literate and will have received that type of education which should be given in rural middle schools It is both wasteful and harmful that in many provinces almost the only form of education now open to boys who wish to pursue these callings should be that given in a middle English school, the training of which is based on urban requirements and the main object of which is success in a matriculation examination We give below a relevant quotation from the Punjab Quinquennial Review for 1922—27 —

> ' It follows inevitably that, in the years to come, the Education Department will find it increasingly difficult to fill its vernacular training institutions with

* Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, page 539.

suitably qualified recruits There is also the wider question whether or not there are a sufficient number of successful candidates in the Vernacular Final examination to fill even the salaried vernacular posts which are required for the development of rural activities It may be that a reaction has already set in against the drift to the anglo-vernacular course. It is pathetic to feel that, though there are thousands of matriculates without employment, there is, or shortly will be, a serious shortage of young men who have received a good general education through the medium of the vernacular "*

31 The issue has been clouded by the controversy as to whether or not the study of English should be included in the course of a vernacular middle school Mr Mayhew, who is among those who hold the negative view, writes with regard to English —

"There is no subject more calculated to draw away boys from industrial pursuits to clerical and sedentary work If it can be confined to the higher grade schools and continuation courses for those who have passed the primary [middle vernacular] course no great harm will be done "†

In certain provinces, notably in Bengal, it has been urged that there is no prospect for a secondary school in which English is not taught If this be so, special classes might be provided at the end of the course in the middle vernacular schools in which English would be taught intensively as a spoken and written language

32 While, we are convinced that the development and reconstruction of the middle vernacular school would contribute to the solution of the secondary as well as the primary school problems, we do not wish for a moment that opportunities should be withheld from those village boys who may still be eager to enter an anglo-vernacular school with a view to passing the matriculation and obtaining employment in the town and possibly a high position in the State For this reason, in particular, we have already criticised the unequal distribution of facilities for anglo-vernacular education which obtains in some of the provinces It is possible that our suggestion of an intensive course in English at the end of the vernacular course may be useful in making easier the transition from the vernacular to an anglo-vernacular school, especially as many witnesses have told us that the boy who has received a vernacular schooling, though he may be handicapped at first by his weakness in English, very often outstrips the anglo-vernacular boy in the

* Punjab Q R, page 65.

† The Education of India, by Arthur Mayhew, page 248

long run, in consequence of his better grasp of those general subjects which he has learnt through the vernacular

33 **Diversion of boys to Industrial Training.**—There is also the boy to be considered whose bent is to industrial rather than rural pursuits, and it is unreasonable that he also should be compelled to undertake a secondary school course which leads only to the matriculation examination and which is dominated throughout by its requirements It is true that in almost all provinces attempts have been made in recent years to introduce practical or pre-vocational instruction in the ordinary schools, but it is evident that there has been as yet no clear appreciation of the aim of such instruction, and its proper relationship to the ordinary school course In some provinces, it is regarded merely as a form of manual instruction which is helpful as part of the general education of pupils, it is to be welcomed as such In other provinces, although the instruction is definitely intended to be pre-vocational, it is imparted in the higher classes of secondary schools to pupils who, in the majority of cases, are striving to qualify for admission into the colleges and have no intention whatever of making use of the instruction as a preliminary to technical training Only in a few cases is this instruction imparted in such a manner and at such a stage of the school course that pupils are definitely encouraged, after receiving a suitable measure of general education, to leave school in order to take up some practical occupation or to receive technical instruction in a special institution

34 The uncertainty of aim and thought has been accentuated by the fact that, in most provinces, the industrial schools are controlled by a separate Department of Industries and, in some cases, by a minister other than the Minister of Education, and therefore that they tend to be regarded almost as rivals to the ordinary schools It is the exception rather than the rule to find in India an educational system in which the industrial and the ordinary schools are regarded as complementary to each other All pupils, whatever be their aim of life, should first receive general education, but it should be open to boys at some suitable stage in the subsequent course to branch off to craft schools or to vocational classes * We are told that the industrial schools are not widely appreciated at present, but we are hopeful that if once industrial training is given its proper place in the higher stages of the educational system, many of the boys who now waste time and money in a secondary school will be diverted to more fruitful forms of education and occupation

* As an illustration of the lack of adjustment between the industrial and the ordinary system, we may point out that the industrial primary school, such as it exists in some provinces, implies a misdirection of effort, since it is premature for small children of six or seven years of age to receive training in a trade or craft.

35 Our evidence shows that in the few places where the industrial schools have recruited their pupils at the proper stage of the ordinary school course considerable success has attended the training given, and the majority of the pupils so trained have easily found employment

> The Government Industrial Institute at Madura in the Madras Presidency, which was opened in 1920, provides for a number of courses in wood-work, metal-work, motor-car driving and mechanism, oil and gas engine driving, the care of industrial machinery, carpentry, cabinet-making, foundry-work, blacksmith's work, etc , and it is reported that almost every student who has left the institution since its foundation has secured employment In Bombay, the Government Technical Institute, Ahmedabad, and the Municipal Technical Institute, Surat, both recruit their apprentices from pupils who have completed the middle anglo-vernacular stage, and the success of these institutions is reflected in the large increase in their enrolment during the past five years The special classes conducted by the Public Works Department at Darpuri near Poona include a course for apprentices who have completed the middle anglo-vernacular stage, and it is noteworthy that the manager of the classes reports that the demand for good craftsmen has been so large that many of the apprentices left before completing their course owing to their being able to command a good salary after two or three years' apprenticeship The Secretary of the Committee of Direction for Technical Education in Bombay, writing of the technical schools in the Bombay Presidency, similarly states that, "in many of the schools very few boys complete the three years' course and after one and a half to two years' of training they get employment The certificates obtained are of a distinct value to the boys and carry a considerable amount of weight in various districts " *

36 It has been suggested that in order to facilitate the diversion of pupils to industrial schools and to other pursuits, an examination should be held to mark the completion of the middle stage of the anglo-vernacular course, corresponding to the examination held in some provinces to mark the termination of the middle vernacular course Many witnesses have deplored the abandonment of the anglo-vernacular middle school examination and have suggested that, in consequence, many boys who are ill-suited for further study on more academic lines, are tempted to stay on at a secondary

* Bombay Q R , page 111

school when they ought to take to something else The following quotation from the Punjab Quinquennial Review supports this view —

> "This examination (the anglo-vernacular middle school examination) should be the great school junction and clearing house By its means, boys would be drafted into that line of study for which each appeared to be most suited "*

VII —Matriculation in relation to the intermediate course

37 The intermediate course, as we shall see, is in some places definitely treated as a higher part of the secondary system, though it is still retained in the majority of the provinces as part of the university For the sake of convenience we discuss the relations of matriculation to the intermediate course in this chapter

38 The extent to which matriculation is regarded not only as the terminus of the ordinary secondary course but as a passage from the school course to a collegiate education is shown in the following Table —

TABLE LVI

Percentage ratio of students in the first intermediate year to those who passed the matriculation or school final in 1927

Bombay	59 9
Bengal	80 3
United Provinces	42 8
Punjab	35 1
Burma	81 1
Bihar and Orissa	64 6
Central Provinces	67 0
Assam	47·9

The ambitious pupil has no alternative objective offered to him and therefore follows the time-honoured and formerly profitable path of climbing to academic heights which have now become somewhat barren

39 We shall deal in more detail in the next Chapter with the waste which this involves We have now to point out that owing to the inefficiency of the matriculation standard the waste begins at an early stage, if the boy proceeds to an intermediate course in which instruction is given in the form of mass lectures The Calcutta University Commission pointed out the inability of the average boy to understand such lectures, owing to his want of knowledge of English We have received precisely similar and more

* Punjab Q R , page 32

recent evidence on this point In the last Quinquennial Review of the Punjab there appears the following statement —

> "The School Board after a prolonged investigation, came to the conclusion that 'the standards of examination in general are low and are deteriorating, especially in English The attainments of the first year students in colleges are such that very many are unable to follow the lectures adequately' This conclusion was strengthened by the fact that many boys from outside the jurisdiction of the University preferred to enter the Punjab matriculation examination as private candidates instead of appearing for the examinations of their own universities "*

The defect has been accentuated in the Punjab by the influx of a large number of young boys below the age of fifteen which has been rendered possible by the abandonment of the age limit for matriculation

The Bombay Quinquennial Review states that —" with every increase in the numbers of those taking secondary education there is a fall in the standard of efficiency, owing chiefly to the fact that lower and lower strata are being tapped, and the majority of those who pass the school-leaving examination are altogether unfit for higher studies It can easily be understood how the general weakness of the candidates helps to lower the standard of the examination, since examiners are only human and it is inevitable that in fixing their test they should, to a certain extent, be influenced, insensibly, by the general quality of the work The problem of the unfitness of the students who join the colleges from the schools has been discussed repeatedly by Committees and Commissions, who have usually thrown the blame on the schools and have demonstrated how the work in the schools is to be improved But it cannot be emphasised too strongly that the dominating factor is the school leaving examination, that being the test whether a boy or girl is fit to take higher studies "†

40 The Calcutta University Commission were definitely opposed to the giving of instruction by means of mass lectures to boys who had only just matriculated, and suggested that the needs of intermediate students would be better met by school-teaching, given in relatively small classes of about 30 pupils by competent teachers and under school discipline As a consequence, it was proposed that the intermediate classes should be removed from the sphere of university teaching The proposals of the Commission have been considered in most provinces and, as a result, a number of intermediate colleges have been established in the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Dacca University area

*Punjab Q R , page 31

† Bombay Q R , page 51

In the *Punjab*, the intermediate colleges comprise four classes only, two intermediate and two high classes The two intermediate classes are still regarded as coming within the purview of the University

In the *United Provinces*, the intermediate colleges have been definitely separated from the university and have been formed by the addition of two intermediate classes to some of the secondary schools

In the *Dacca University area*, the intermediate colleges for men comprise only two classes at present The intermediate college for women is attached to a secondary school

In *Bihar*, the experiment of separating the intermediate from the higher university classes was tried in one centre but the old system has now been restored

41 Opinion is much divided as to whether or not the new types of intermediate college have proved a success But it is clear that in many cases these colleges have not been established under the conditions recommended by the Calcutta University Commission and that the system has not been given a fair chance of proving its value In some of the colleges the classes are so large as to make it impossible to give any instruction except the mass lecture which the system was designed to avoid In others, again, strain and dissatisfaction have been caused by staffing an intermediate college with a combination of secondary school teachers who received what was to them a welcome improvement in pay and status, and teachers from affiliated colleges who were chosen as being the least suitable for degree-teaching, and who felt their new position to be a degradation

The controversy as to whether the intermediate course should, or should not, form part of the university system is still acute

VIII —Teaching

42 The efficiency of a school depends mainly on an adequate provision of competent and well trained teachers The proportion of trained teachers in secondary schools varies greatly from province to province

TABLE LVII

Percentage of trained teachers in secondary schools for boys by provinces.

	*Middle Schools	High Schools.
Madras	81	78
Bombay	12	22
Bengal	27	12
United Provinces	79	43
Punjab	68	75
Burma .	59	59
Bihar and Orissa	62	32
Central Provinces	. 64	68
Assam	. 50	54

* Includes middle vernacular schools

43 The contrast between Bombay and Bengal, on the one hand, and Madras and the Punjab, on the other, is striking It is evident that the proportion of trained teachers in the first named provinces is altogether inadequate They are a mere sprinkling, and many schools have no trained teachers at all Even where there are one or two, they are too few to make their presence felt and to raise the general level of teaching It is only natural that they soon lose heart and take the line of least resistance The following figures for the three older provinces are instructive —

TABLE LVIII

Average number of teachers per high school

Madras	20 1
Bombay	14 5
Bengal	12 8

TABLE LIX

Average number of trained teachers per high school

Madras	15 6
Bombay	3 2
Bengal	1 8

44 What makes the situation more hopeful is that some progress in this matter has been made in the last ten years, except in Bombay and Bengal The percentage of trained teachers in all secondary schools, high and middle, in 1917, 1922 and 1927 in the different provinces was as follows —

TABLE LX

Percentage of trained teachers in boys' secondary schools of all kinds

Province	1917	1922	1927
Madras	64 0	69 1	78 7
Bombay	22 3	26 5	20 1
Bengal	18 7	20 3	20 2
United Provinces	45 7	54 9	59 2
Punjab	64 8	67 9	69 3
Burma	47 2	61 8	59 6
Bihar and Orissa	35 6	43 8	51 0
Central Provinces	40 5	57 6	64 1
Assam	34 0	40 7	44 0
India	37 4	45 9	51 1

These figures indicate that, in most provinces, considerable efforts have been made to provide trained teachers

45 In many provinces an untrained teacher cannot now be permanently appointed as an ordinary class master in high and middle schools, but sufficient facilities have not yet been provided

for training in most provinces The number of pupils in training colleges for men are shown in the following Table —

TABLE LXI

Number of students in training colleges

	1917	1922	1927
Madras	112	211	224
Bombay	34	72	48
Bengal	93	118	136
United Provinces	111	217	258
Punjab	272	406	269
Burma			12
Bihar and Orissa	19	38	57
Central Provinces	65	135	120
Assam			

Provision is made in the Dacca Training College for a small number of teachers from Assam The fluctuations in the figures of some provinces are probably due to a reorganisation of the courses Those in the Punjab are due to the fact that, in 1922, a number of vernacular teachers were wrongly included in the figures In relation to their needs, Bombay and Bihar have very few students under training

46 From the evidence before us there appear to be great differences in the quality of the training colleges in the several provinces In some the methods used are conventional and obsolete, in others valuable work is being done on the investigation and application of modern methods and there is evidence that they are accomplishing real work in the way of stimulating experiments and in introducing new methods into the schools The best of these institutions are attracting a keener and more intelligent type of recruit and are inspiring him with a new spirit Institutions such as these are turning out not merely mechanically trained teachers but men able to appreciate the many-sided difficulties of school organisation and well-equipped to meet them

On the other hand, we feel that enough cannot be done in the short space of nine months, which is all that is usually available, to uproot the old methods of teaching to which many of the students are accustomed, and for many of the teachers more frequent refresher courses at the training colleges would be of great advantage

47 **Conditions of Service.**—As in the case of primary schools, the average quality of the teacher and of the teaching depends to a considerable extent on the pay and conditions of service The best type of men cannot be attracted to the profession so long as these remain unsatisfactory and only too frequently the teachers have no heart in their work In no province is the pay of the teacher sufficient to give him the status which his work demands and in some provinces *e g* , Bengal and Bihar, the pay of the teacher is

often woefully low * The conditions of service, though still far from satisfactory, have improved in recent years and provident fund and pension schemes have been widely introduced But the most serious difficulty facing the teacher in the great majority of privately managed schools, and in some managed by local bodies, is insecurity of tenure Generally, no contracts or agreements are made and teachers are frequently sent away at short notice We have had it in evidence that some schools even make it a practice to recruit teachers temporarily for nine months, thus avoiding the payment of vacation salaries, the payment of increments and the necessity for appointing permanent trained men The salaries of teachers are not infrequently paid very irregularly and compulsory levies for school purposes are sometimes made from the teachers' slender earnings In spite of what has been done in recent years, the conditions of service of the teacher must be greatly altered before the quality of secondary education can become satisfactory

IX —*General conditions of school life*

48 In the last decade there has been much improvement in school life This has no doubt been due to the inspiration of the better type of training colleges which have been sending out young teachers trained to regard education as something much wider than mere book-learning Intensive physical training, the organisation of games and scout-craft now form an essential part of the courses in the larger training colleges in India and the results of this training have been visibly reflected in the increasing activities of the schools For the improvement of physical training, most provinces have appointed Directors or Advisers for Physical Instruction and in Madras and the Punjab, for example, the old gymnastic instructor is being rapidly replaced by well-qualified physical training experts We have been favourably impressed by the drill and physical exercises which we have seen in some of the schools There has been a wide-spread extension of the organisation of games and the ordinary teacher is taking a more active part in the athletic activities of the schools The formation of Provincial Athletic Associations and the holding of tournaments has served as a further stimulus

* The Bengal Quinquennial Review (page 43) states that "it has been pointed out over and over again that the salary of the schoolmaster in Bengal is a miserable pittance, often lower than that of a menial servant or that of a casual labourer Here figures are available which need no comment In the Chittagong division, the average [monthly] salary of a high school teacher is Rs 51 7, of a middle school teacher Rs 18 2 In Rajshahi 70 per cent of the high school teachers receive between Rs 20 and Rs 70 and the actual average is Rs 44 5"

The Bihar Quinquennial Review (page 23) states that the average monthly salary of a teacher in a board secondary school is Rs 26 6, of a teacher in a municipal secondary school Rs 31 5 and, of a teacher in a privately managed secondary school Rs 37 9

49 **Health.**—The general health of the school boy is receiving far greater attention than it did ten years ago The first step towards improvement has been the institution of medical inspection in several provinces, but inspection alone is worth very little except for statistical purposes and as paving the way for and demonstrating the need of treatment The provision of treatment has been made in some places We were much interested by the account given by Major J R D Webb, I M S , of what he had done for the medical inspection and treatment of all boys and girls in the town of Simla He is now engaged in similar work in Delhi

50 **Boys Scouts.**—The rapid development of the Boy Scout movement has been another welcome addition to school activities The growth of this movement since Indian boys were first enrolled in the Baden Powell Association in 1918 has been very great and in 1927 there were over 113,000 boy scouts and cubs in British India, Bombay and the Punjab each contributing over 20,000 scouts The movement has been assisted by provincial grants, and in 1927 nearly 1 75 lakhs were sanctioned for the local associations by the provincial Governments

51 **General Improvement.**—Thus, in spite of manifest defects and difficulties, there are hopeful signs of healthy progress In many places the teacher is improving and, in provinces where the training colleges are good, improvement will be more marked in the future Many of the schools are better equipped and are brighter and healthier institutions than they were The new spirit aroused by games, athletics, scouting, social work and clubs is full of promise The residential and hostel system has been greatly extended

52 The Royal Military College at Dehra Dun has demonstrated what can be done to provide a new type of education for the children of well-to-do parents The value of the corporate life, of the meals in common and of the traditions and aims of the institution has been widely recognised There is a demand for a better type than the ordinary secondary school of the country This demand is reflected in the support given to schools which are being promoted by the Parsee community in Bombay and by the Public School Association founded by the late Mr S R Das

53 Of the general excellence of the material in Indian secondary schools for boys those of us who have lived in the country can speak with confidence Many pupils have been able to overcome the great difficulties which confront them With adequate adjustment in the secondary school system and with the strengthening of the present efforts to brighten and enrich the school life of the pupils, the schools in India should be able to contribute in increasing measure to the well-being of public life in the country

CHAPTER VI.

Education for the Directing Classes : Universities.

1 For reasons which we have explained in Chapter I, we have been unable to attempt anything approaching a complete survey of the growth of universities during the last decade We have, therefore, limited ourselves to certain aspects of that growth that seemed to us of major importance, and we have incidentally illustrated our views by reference to certain institutions We have thus been unable to give more than a passing reference to many of the universities, or to allot to them space corresponding to their importance in the system of higher education in India

I —Universities, old and new

2 **The older Universities.**—The first universities in India were established in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857, as a result of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 In 1882, a university for the Punjab was founded at Lahore and, five years later, one for the United Provinces at Allahabad All these universities were of the same type The actual teaching was carried on in the affiliated colleges which were scattered throughout the area over which each university had jurisdiction, and the functions of the universities were limited to affiliation and examination The Hunter Commission of 1882 encouraged the growth of private enterprise, and the constitution of the universities was favourable to the multiplication of private colleges In 1902, the total number of affiliated arts colleges had risen to 140, of which 108 were under private management This rapid development placed a severe strain on the existing organisations and it became evident that the universities had insufficient power to supervise and control the work of the affiliated colleges

3 **University Commissions.**—It was chiefly on this account that the Universities Commission of 1902 was appointed In accordance with its recommendations, the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904 with a view to strengthening the educational element in the Senates, to increasing the proportion of elected Fellows, to extending the powers of the universities in respect of the control, inspection and affiliation of colleges, and to enabling the universities to undertake the work of teaching and research But, in spite of the Act of 1904, these universities continued to be almost entirely examining bodies In 1917, there were 184 colleges affiliated to the five older universities, with a total enrolment of over 60,000 students, of whom more than 28,000 belonged to Calcutta University In their Resolution of 1913 the Government of India had pointed out

the dangers inherent in this unrestricted expansion and suggested that it was necessary to limit the area of affiliating universities and also to create new teaching and residential universities

In view of the condition of Calcutta University, a Commission was appointed in 1917, and their report was presented in 1919. The report confirmed the opinion that a reorganisation of the existing universities was urgently needed and that a new type of unitary teaching and residential university should be instituted In 1920, the Government of India commended generally to local Governments the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission

4 **New Universities** —In the eight years that followed, as many as eight new universities were founded, in addition to the Benares Hindu and Patna Universities which had been instituted previously to 1920, the former in 1916 and the latter in 1917 The eight new universities were the Muslim University at Aligarh (1920), Rangoon (1920), Lucknow (1920), Dacca (1921), Delhi (1922), Nagpur (1923), Andhra (1926) and Agra (1927) A new unitary university is now in course of formation at Chidambaram in the Madras Presidency

These new universities are not all of the same type As a rule, where there is only a single university in a province it must necessarily be of the affiliating type, partly in order to cover the area adequately, and partly to avoid the alternative of abolishing the existing colleges Thus Patna and Nagpur Universities are of the affiliating type though they also exercise certain teaching functions The Andhra University, which is in the Madras Presidency and serves the needs of a large linguistic area, is at present of the affiliating type, but the higher teaching has been limited to a comparatively small number of centres The complete transformation of Allahabad into a unitary and teaching university was accompanied by the creation of Agra as an affiliating university

✓ 5 **Unitary and Teaching Universities** —It is only where more than one university exists in a province, one of which is of the affiliating kind, that the other or others have conformed to the unitary type For instance, Dacca in Bengal and Lucknow and Allahabad in the United Provinces are unitary So also are the Hindu University at Benares and the Muslim University at Aligarh, both of which are intended primarily for the benefit of communities spread throughout India

In certain circumstances, the unitary university is the better type Provided that a corporate life can be evolved in the halls which is comparable to the traditions of the better colleges in the older universities, that the teaching is properly organised in the several departments of study, and that the members of the several university authorities are both competent and capable of understanding the significance of such a university, then a unitary university should result in more efficient teaching, more effective expenditure of the available resources, closer contact between staff

and students and a more stimulating corporate life We are unable to offer any definite opinions as to whether these conditions have been fulfilled satisfactorily in all the unitary universities of India Three of our members* visited Dacca and were glad to find that the departments of study are well-organised and are producing a considerable amount of research work both in arts and science, that tutorial instruction is given on a wider scale than in many of the older universities that there is growing up a healthy and vigorous life in the halls of residence, that the library is well stocked with books and periodicals, of which good use is made by the students Some of our members have also visited the University of Allahabad and were impressed by the progress which has been made We were unfortunately prevented from visiting the Hindu University at Benares, but have been informed that the teaching activities of the university are gravely hampered by lack of funds In Rangoon, which is still in its initial stages, all the higher teaching in arts and science is given in two constituent and contiguous colleges placed on the university estate There is a University Department of Engineering, which has been established on the same estate

6 It is clear, however that the requirements of India cannot be met solely by unitary universities and that the affiliating university is likely to remain for many years to come In 1922, there were 152 affiliated arts colleges and in 1927 as many as 232 In India, the number of students in a unitary university must be relatively small, and the total numbers in the seven universities which are more or less unitary—Allahabad, Benares, Aligarh, Rangoon, Lucknow, Dacca and Delhi—are less than a sixth of those in the seven affiliating universities (excluding Agra) They are equal only to the number in the Punjab University alone, much less than that of Madras, and less than half that of Calcutta The establishment of Dacca University, for example, has no doubt improved the lot of its thousand or more students, but it has not appreciably diminished the heavy burden of Calcutta University If all university students were to be gathered into the unitary folds, then no fewer than twenty or more such universities would be required

7 **Organisation of teaching and research in affiliating universities.**—An important development has been the assumption of the functions of teaching, especially in the higher ranges of study, and of the encouragement of research by the affiliating universities

In *Madras*, the University has its own staff in economics and Indian history, and it is establishing a Research Institute in botany, zoology and bio-chemistry, and departments for higher teaching in Indian philosophy, mathematics and other subjects

* Sir George Anderson, Sir Sultan Ahmed and Raja Narendra Nath

In *Bombay*, in 1924-25, all post-graduate training was placed under the control of a Board of Management consisting of nine members appointed by the Syndicate, but a large part of the actual teaching is given by members of the college staffs The University has its own Department of economics and sociology, with its own staff, and there are part-time lecturers in other subjects such as Sanskrit and mathematics

In *Calcutta*, the post-graduate teaching in arts and science was in 1917 placed under the immediate management of the University, which has a staff of about three hundred professors and lecturers, some of whom are college lecturers working part-time for the University Except in the laboratories, there are no heads or departments For the organisation of this work, Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Science have been created, including all the teachers in the several departments of study These Councils have very considerable powers of their own, and are not under the effective control of the other authorities of the University

In *Lahore*, the University maintains its own colleges in law, commerce and oriental languages, and also its own chemistry laboratories and department A number of university professors have also been appointed In addition, a certain number of Honours Schools are organised by the University, the staffs being drawn from its own staff and from part-time college lecturers

8 It has not been possible for us to examine these activities in any detail It is inevitable that if such higher teaching is to be carried out with efficiency and economy in affiliating universities there should be a large measure of concentrated effort in places where there are adequate libraries and teaching facilities, or where they can be made available without extravagant expenditure of money This is particularly the case in the teaching of science, and one of the most promising developments of recent years has been the rapid development of scientific teaching and research in the chief university centres

9 But where a concentration of higher work is effected by a university in one or more places, particular care should be taken that the life and work of the better colleges in those centres are not stifled Where large numbers of students of all ages are congregated together, the corporate life and traditions of good colleges

are invaluable Care should also be taken to safeguard the efficient teaching of the pass students The opinions of the Calcutta University Commission are relevant to this matter —

> "Another group of correspondents propose that the beginning already made by the university in the provision of post-graduate courses should be extended, and that the courses for the degrees of B A and B Sc with honours should be separated from the pass courses and undertaken directly by the university The colleges would be left to do pass teaching only The supporters of this plan are content to assign to them a humble function, for which they might be sufficiently manned with teachers mainly second rate But a further and perhaps more important effect of this scheme would be to reduce the colleges to a position of insignificance and humiliation, and to make an unhappy cleavage among the student body The students [and the teachers] would be divided into two classes, superior beings called university students, and inferior called college students, and both sides would suffer The college students would be deprived of the advantages of association with their ablest contemporaries The university students would be deprived of the social benefits of college life—benefits which, even under the present system, are to some extent realised by some of the better colleges "*

10 We have had the opportunity of examining the relations of a university to its colleges at the headquarters of two universities: the University of Patna, which is an affiliating university and the University of Delhi which may be termed a 'semi-unitary' university

In Patna, a considerable advance has been made possible by the concentration of the University and college buildings in the university area and by the construction of new buildings and laboratories All the teaching work in the city is given by the college staffs, and the University regards its main functions at this centre to be the encouragement of a strong corporate life among the students and the provision of an organisation by which the colleges are enabled to formulate plans of co-operation among themselves The university spirit is also fostered by a University Training Corps and by the establishment of university societies and athletic tournaments We were impressed by the happy relations between the colleges and the University and between the colleges themselves at this centre We had no opportunity of visiting any of the affiliated colleges outside Patna itself

* Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol IV, page 251.

We have termed Delhi a semi-unitary university It has three first-grade colleges with independent governing bodies, all situated in or near the city of Delhi The University itself carries on teaching only in law, economics, philosophy and elementary science, and has a small library We have examined a number of witnesses, official and non-official, on the subject of this University It appears that the University was constituted with resources entirely inadequate to its proper development We understand that a Committee of Enquiry was appointed by the Government of India to report on the affairs of the University, but the report has not yet been published and we are not acquainted with its contents The University is clearly in a transitional stage We think it would be a loss to India if the healthy traditions of the three colleges were sacrificed by a too rigid adherence to the formula of a unitary university, and that it would be preferable to retain the vigorous life and traditions of the colleges, and to place on the University the duty of organising the higher work by a combination of suitably qualified teachers at present carrying on higher work in the colleges with teachers appointed by the University itself * The University would thus aim at supplementing and not supplanting the staffs of the colleges It should be an essential function of the University to provide and maintain science laboratories and a central library on an adequate scale which would enable the teachers to keep themselves up-to-date

II —University Constitutions Subsidies to Universities and Colleges

11 The constitutions of the universities in British India are defined by University Acts which have been passed from time to time We do not consider it necessary to describe them in detail, but discuss certain general features of these constitutions

In most of the modern universities and in several of the older universities whose Acts have recently been amended, the Governor-General is the Visitor with powers of inspection, but in *Patna* and

* Each of the three first grade colleges has its own corporate life and traditions St Stephen's College was founded in 1881 and is maintained by the Cambridge Mission The college has a fine record and has restricted its numbers so that a well arranged system of tutorial instruction and an intimate contact between staff and students have been rendered possible A large number of Oxford and Cambridge graduates have come to India in the service of the Mission and the college while a number of distinguished Indian graduates have been willing to serve the college on salaries which were probably lower than they could have obtained elsewhere

The Hindu College was founded in 1889 to provide mainly for students of the Hindu community It is controlled by a Board of twelve Trustees and Hindu religious instruction of a non sectarian kind is given in the college to Hindu pupils The college has several hostels and playing fields and its main building is situated in the city of Delhi

The Ramjas College was founded by Rai Sahib Kedarnath in 1917 with the intention of providing a residential college remote from the distractions and temptations of a large city The college is situated a few miles outside the city of Delhi and is largely residential

There are also four second grade colleges, including one for women

in *Bombay*, these rights are vested in the Governor of the province concerned In *Benares* and *Aligarh*, the Governor-General is the Lord Rector, and in *Delhi* he is the Chancellor, but he has visitorial functions and rights except in Benares, where the Governor of the United Provinces has the style and powers of Visitor

In several of the new universities, the previous sanction of the Governor-General is necessary before a university can recognise as equivalent to its own an entrance examination held by another university or authority At *Benares*, no statute making any change in the constitution of the Court, Council, Senate or Syndicate can be made without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council In *Dacca*, similar sanction has to be obtained before any statute may be passed which affects the proportion or method of Muhammadan representation on Court, Academic Council or Executive Council At *Aligarh*, all new statutes and amendments of statutes, except on purely religious matters, are sent through the Visiting Board to the Governor-General in Council for approval At *Delhi*, the Governor-General in Council approves new statutes and may suspend or disallow any ordinance

12 In nearly every university, the Governor of the Province is the Chancellor and, as such, appoints the Vice-Chancellor, but at *Patna*, this appointment is made by the local Government At *Aligarh*, the Governor of the United Provinces, the Members of the Executive Council, the Ministers and two others form a Visiting Board At *Benares*, the Governor of the United Provinces is the Visitor and has the right of inspecting the University and of approving all new statutes, amendments to statutes and regulations In *Calcutta* and the *Punjab*, the affiliation of new colleges requires the sanction of the local Government In most of the other universities the Chancellor has the power to withhold his assent to or refer back for further consideration, all statutes passed by the Senate or the Court The audited accounts of universities have to be sent either to the Governor-General in Council or to the Visitor or to the local Government, as the case may be

13 **University Bodies** —The supreme governing body of a university is sometimes called the Senate, sometimes the Court In the governing bodies of the universities, there are nearly always *ex-officio* members, many of whom are Government officials, and other members who are nominated by the local Government concerned Originally, the nominated element formed the majority on the Senates of the older universities, but in every university except Calcutta and the Punjab, the majority are now elected In Calcutta, all the ordinary Fellows, except ten elected by the registered graduates and ten by the Faculties, are nominated by the Chancellor In the Punjab, ten are elected by the Senate or by registered

graduates and five by the Faculties, while the remainder are all nominated by the Chancellor In the other universities there is only a minority of nominated members Thus, in Patna, out of a maximum total of 75 ordinary Fellows, not less than 10 or more than 25 are nominated by the Chancellor, in the large Madras Senate, as reconstituted by the Act of 1923, the nominated members are only 30, of whom 20 represent communities otherwise not adequately represented, by the new Bombay University Act, 1928. the nominated element is reduced to less than a third of the body of Ordinary Fellows In addition to the Court or Senate there is always an executive which is in some universities a committee of the Senate or Court These executives are in some universities termed the Syndicate, in others the Executive Council

In the newer universities and in some of the older ones an Academic Council, largely composed of teachers, plays an important part in settling curricula and standards of examination and other academic matters

14 **Government Aid** —Subject to such limitations as those indicated above, the universities are autonomous bodies, aided by Government, but not directly controlled by it Government aid is usually given either in the form of a block grant fixed by statute for a term of years or by annual subventions which may be earmarked or not In affiliating universities, the affiliated colleges may be aided by Government directly In Calcutta and the Punjab, however, many of the colleges receive aid both from the provincial Governments and from the University itself, which distributes among the colleges a grant received from provincial (formerly imperial) revenues for the purpose The measure of Government aid to an affiliating university can thus only be calculated by the addition of the grants to the university itself, the cost of Government colleges, and the grants, if any, to the affiliated colleges

15 Some of the colleges, unlike the universities, are entirely controlled and managed by Government In most provinces, there are Government colleges affiliated to a university, but for the management and maintenance of which Government are entirely responsible, and which are staffed by teachers on the cadre of the Government educational services These include a number of arts colleges, and the majority of the professional colleges for medicine, engineering, agriculture and teaching

A few colleges are managed and maintained by the universities themselves and are in some cases termed 'constituent colleges' The great majority of affiliated colleges are under private management, and Government has no direct control over them except so far as conditions may be attached to the grant-in-aid given to them

III —*Enrolment of the various universities Numbers of affiliated and constituent colleges*

16 **Enrolment** —The Tables below summarise the growth of university education in British India during the period 1917—1927

TABLE LXII

Dates of University Acts, enrolment in 1917—1927, number of affiliated and constituent colleges

University	Dates of University Acts	Number of students			Number of affiliated and constituent colleges in 1927
		1917	1922	1927	
Calcutta	1857 & 1921‡	28,618	23,044	29,214	48
Bombay	1857 & 1928‡	8,001	8,493	11,016	29
Madras	1857 & 1923‡	10,216	12,653	17,127*	56
Punjab	1882 & 1919†	6,583	7,372	12,195	36
Allahabad	1887 & 1921‡	7,807	6,445	2,865†	
Benares Hindu	1915		1,469	1,036	7
Patna	1917		2,417	4,644*	16
Aligarh Muslim	1920		702	1,828	
Rangoon	1920 & 1924		507	1,485	3
Lucknow	1920		632	1,398	
Dacca	1920, 1925 & 1928		1,030	1,415	
Delhi	1922		706	1,310	7
Nagpur	1923			1,654	8
Andhra	1926			3,110*	20
Agra	1927				14

* These figures are for 1925 26

† The affiliating side has been transferred to the new Agra University

‡ This university was also affected by the Act of 1904

Everywhere, except in Calcutta, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of students reading in university classes In Calcutta, the decrease during 1917—22 was due to some extent to the institution of new universities at Dacca, Patna and Rangoon and also to the non-cooperation movement, but was more than made up between 1922 and 1927

TABLE LXIII

Enrolment by provinces in arts and professional colleges

Province	Arts and science colleges		Professional colleges and departments including those in Engineering, Teaching, Agriculture, Law, Medicine, and Commerce	
	1917	1927.	1917	1927
Madras	7,724	12,616	1,655	2,218
Bombay	4,888	7,027	1,841	2,487
Bengal	18,478	24,134	4,412	6,322
United Provinces	4,315	5,286*	1,650	3,069
Punjab	4,091	7,524	1,154	1,854
Burma	663	1,254		46
Bihar and Orissa	2,575	3,474	309	1,021
Central Provinces	1,090	1,410	254	423
Assam	688	1,012	45	91
British India	45,770	65,911	11,504	17,616

*If the figures are to correspond to those of other provinces, 4,360 students reading in intermediate classes should be added to the 5,286 recorded above

These figures do not include students from the colleges in Indian States, many of which are affiliated to universities in British India In the United Provinces, most of the intermediate colleges are no longer under university control

The proportion of professional to arts students varies from 30 per cent or over in the United Provinces, Bombay and the Central Provinces to 18 per cent in Madras, 12 per cent in Assam and 3 per cent in Burma

IV —Expenditure

17 The relevant Tables are as follows —

TABLE LXIV

Direct expenditure of universities, and arts and professional colleges, in British India

—	1917	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Universities	25,51,925	73,40,578	1,00,53,859
Arts Colleges	71,03,748	1,10,42,338	1,45,84,918
Professional Colleges	35,99,418	59,77,514	76,35,792
Total	1,32,55,091	2,43,60,430	3,22,74,569

These figures do not include the very large capital expenditure on buildings, furniture and apparatus

TABLE LXV

Direct expenditure of universities by provinces

—	1917	1922	1927
	Rs.	Rs	Rs
Madras	3,93,728	4,68,354	8,52,967
Bombay	2,32,466	3,71,784	7,07,972
Bengal	13,63,600	25,17,890	30,47,697
United Provinces	2,81,725	31,63,786	21,81,866
Punjab	2,78,281	3,43,203	11,12,462
Burma	..	1,91,354	16,73,667
Bihar and Orissa		2,81,270	2,16,000
Central Provinces	.	..	99,994
Assam			.

The expenditure shows a remarkable increase, which is largely, but not altogether, to be explained by the creation of new universities

TABLE LXVI

Direct expenditure of arts colleges by provinces

—	1917	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	14,04,875	19,11,641	24,48,073
Bombay	7,75,716	12,49,134	19,17,917
Bengal	18,84,996	26,51,435	35,16,844
United Provinces	11,61,947	20,31,547	24,85,674
Punjab	6,53,236	10,28,402	17,58,371
Burma	2,13,134	3,83,415	56,043
Bihar and Orissa	3,99,090	7,27,096	9,80,551
Central Provinces	2,05,275	3,41,041	4,88,901
Assam	1,53,514	2,74,158	3,54,484

TABLE LXVII

Provision for expenditure on arts colleges by sources

	Expenditure		Percentages	
	1922	1927.	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs		
Government Fund . .	49,26,666	60,64,459	44 6	41 6
Fees .	37,79,970	62,63,397	34 2	42 9
Other sources . .	23,35,702	22,57,062	21 2	15 5
Total	1,10,42,338	1,45,84,918	100	100

18 Owing to the differences in constitution between the various universities the above Tables do not represent accurately the expenditure on the categories enumerated Thus, the expenditure on Lucknow University includes a heavy item for expenditure on a professional college, the King George Medical College, and the Benares University includes an expensive college of engineering; whereas in Calcutta the corresponding medical and engineering colleges are maintained, not by the University, but by Government and their expenditure appears under the heading 'professional colleges' As we have pointed out above, some universities receive grants from Government for distribution to colleges Again, while the budgets of the universities necessarily include provision for leave and pension, those of government institutions do not include these items, payment for leave and pension being debited to a general account A complete analysis of university and college expenditure would have entailed a long and laborious investigation for which we had not the time at our disposal

V —University standards

19 To judge accurately of the standards of teaching and examination in universities needs an investigation of a kind which we could not attempt But there are unmistakeable indications that the standards in some of the universities are not satisfactory

20 We have been informed by some witnesses that the student of the present day is not equal, either in the width of his information or in the range of his interests, to the student of an older generation The adherence of students to a narrow school curriculum, the lack of a wise correlation of subjects in school and college and the

concentration of attention on examinations have undoubtedly combined to produce graduates who are weak in general knowledge In all probability, the standard of English has also deteriorated The Principal of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, has voiced the following opinions —

> "In my opinion, the time has already come when the Khalsa College should refuse admission, except in a few special cases, to all third division matriculates The present standard of the matriculation examination is none too high, and experience here and elsewhere shows that even first and second division students (far less third division students) cannot follow the lectures for a considerable portion of the intermediate course This being so, it seems to me actually unkind to allow boys of the latter category to join a college With smaller numbers judiciously selected and carefully handled, both the teachers and the taught will have a fair chance The present overcrowding of classes is bound to lead to serious consequences "*

Another of our witnesses, the Principal of a college in Calcutta, writes—

> " A large number of the matriculates are not fit to enter on their college stage The preparation in the school stage, which covers a longer period than is really necessary, is not adequate for the matriculation test Sufficient attention is not paid to the teaching of the elements of English grammar nor is sufficient care taken to teach English as a language This ignorance of grammer and the lack of sufficient stock of words do not inspire them with confidence in their own composition, with the result that they are necessarily driven to cramming Once they acquire this vicious habit, they persist in it all through their college course There has been in recent years a lowering of the matriculation standard which has enabled a very large number of insufficiently trained students to find their way into colleges This has caused a general lowering of the standard of teaching and a heavier failure in the I A or I Sc examination "†

*Punjab Q R , page 36.

†See also Chapter V, para 39

21 We shall now give statistics with regard to the percentage of passes at certain university examinations.—

TABLE LXVIII

Percentage of passes at I A and I Sc examinations by provinces

Province	1912	1917	1922	1927
Madras	44	24	27	34
Bombay	69	63	51	42
Bengal	50	56	68	47
United Provinces	45	44	49	57
Punjab	41	54	56	44
Bihar and Orissa			46	40

Percentage of passes at B A and B Sc examinations by provinces.

—	1912	1917	1922	1927.
Madras	62	71	[1]	50
Bombay	72	57	68	56
Bengal	60[2]	51[2]	71[3]	43[3]
United Provinces	43[4]	42[4]	41[4]	65[5]
Punjab	35	46	43	55

Percentage of passes at B A and B Sc examinations of Calcutta University

1917 18	50	1922 23	
1918 19	50	1923 24	71
1919 20	69	1924-25	70
1920 21	75	1925 26	56
1921 22	72	1926 27	41

[1] No accurate figures available
[2] Calcutta University only
[3] Calcutta and Dacca Universities in Bengal
[4] Allahabad University only
[5] All United Provinces Universities

NOTE.—Owing partly to the fact that the jurisdiction of some universities extends beyond the provinces in which they are situated and partly to other reasons, these figures are only approximate

We have quoted figures only for examinations at which the numbers of candidates are large

The only examinations in regard to which it is possible to draw definite conclusions with regard to standard are those of the University of Calcutta By a careful investigation, the Calcutta University Commission came to the conclusion that the standard of the Calcutta examinations was unsatisfactory in 1917 There is no evidence of any improvement in entrance standards between 1918-19 and 1924-25, yet the number of passes at the B A and B Sc degree examinations rose in those years from 50 per cent to over 70 per cent Clearly, there must have been a lowering of an already low standard The fall in the percentage of passes from 70 in 1924-25 to 56 in 1925-26 and to 41 in 1926-27 indicates a definite recognition of the fact by the university authorities and a desire for a real advance

22 But the question of university standards is not a simple one There is a prevalent opinion that the general efficiency of a university can be secured solely or largely by imposing a high standard at the intermediate and degree examinations and that a high percentage of failures is in itself a good thing, but with this we are unable to agree There are at least three independent and variable factors to be considered, (*a*) the standard of the matriculation or other admission examination, (*b*) the standard of university teaching and (*c*) the standard of attainment required at the examinations The percentage of passes depends on all three factors Let us suppose for the moment that the teaching is satisfactory and reasonably equal in quality from year to year, that the average diligence of the students is also constant, and that the standard at the degree examination has not changed, then an increase in the percentage of failures may be regarded as shewing that the university is admitting in increasing numbers students who are manifestly incapable of profiting by the university courses, and that it has taken their money under false pretences and been a party to their waste of time, money and effort It is of the first importance that a university degree should be a real certificate to the public of capacity and attainment, it is essential that the university should maintain a high standard in its teaching, but it is no less desirable that the matriculation should not admit to its doors numbers of students who have no chance of success In a well-regulated university the percentage of passes in subjects in which the number of candidates is large, and of whom the average quality may therefore be assumed to be reasonably constant, ought to be both high and fairly steady from year to year If it is considered right to raise the university examination standard generally, the first step in this direction should usually be to raise the admission standards (always on the supposition that these standards are well devised to test the capacity of the candidates for higher work) We are bound to

recognise the hard fact that a high percentage of failures may be necessary under existing conditions at the degree examination in many universities if the degree certificate is to possess any value But, as we have shown, such a percentage of failures shows that radical changes are required at the earlier stages, in the direction of improving the standard of admission or the standard of university teaching or both *

23 The percentage of failures is at present in many cases high, and the public are no doubt right in thinking that this may be due to a laudable effort on the part of the universities concerned to give their degrees a real value, as signifying a proper standard of capacity and attainment in those on whom they are conferred But as we have shewn, they indicate, if that is so, that something is seriously wrong at an earlier stage, and that the Indian universities are not giving adequate attention to the proper adjustment of admission to graduation standards, but, on the contrary, are burdening themselves, and are allowing their constituent and affiliated colleges to burden themselves, with a very large number of students who have little or no chance of completing a university course successfully, and on whom expenditure of money intended for university education is wasted It has already been pointed out that many of the students are unable to follow the lectures owing to their defective knowledge of English, which is used as the medium of instruction And the mischief is not limited to the universities, for university standards react upon those of the secondary schools which feed them A low standard of university work means a low standard of school work Illustrations of this proposition may readily be found in the experience of the United States of America † There are signs, as we have said, that the universities have become aware from time to time that their intermediate and graduation standards were too low and that the hall-mark of a university education was being conferred too easily, but there are no signs of any consistent or sustained resolve to grapple with the evils arising from the large admission of unfit students We realise that it is not easy to make such an effort and that, in view of its reaction upon the secondary school system, a change can only be made gradually, and that if it is made, it must be the result of a concerted effort between the universities and the authorities of secondary schools

24 We turn now to another aspect of the figures which vary a good deal from year to year and from one province to another As we have indicated in para 22 above, the percentage of passes

* In order more fully to understand the position, reference should be made to Chapter IX on Matriculation and the Chapters XVII and XL on Examinations in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vols I, II and V

†"The quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe" by Dr W S. Learned (Carnegie Foundation Bulletin No 20—1927)

depends on a number of factors, and consideration of that percentage, taken alone, is no guide to the standard of the university examinations On the other hand, the students from the provinces or university areas where the standard of secondary education is alike soon become aware of any difference of the university standard in the neighbouring provinces or areas, and the standard of efficiency and examination in one university is likely to affect the numbers in neighbouring universities We admit that there are universities which have resisted the temptation to lower standards But the great majority of undergraduates are aiming, not at learning for its own sake, but at a degree (or failing a degree, some lower examination qualification) for its market value, mainly for some form of public employment, and they naturally flock to the place where a degree can be obtained most easily and cheaply A university which attempts single-handed to raise its standards is in danger of finding its numbers depleted Moreover, with the multiplication of universities migration has become easier Thus, the students of Delhi and the Punjab move freely from one university to the other, and if eighty per cent of the candidates were to pass the B A examination in the Punjab in one year and only fifty per cent in Delhi, the University of Delhi might suffer seriously in numbers in the following year This Gresham's Law of Universities can be illustrated by actual and not only by theoretical examples A few years ago, the low standard of Calcutta University examinations attracted to it students from all parts of India, even from as far south as Travancore Another example is to be found in the Punjab The following passage is quoted from the Annual Report of the Director of Public Instruction of that province, for 1925-26 —

> "During the past year, the School Board of the Punjab University has completed its investigation of matriculation standards The genesis of the investigation was a communication from the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who pointed out that large numbers of candidates from other provinces had recourse to the matriculation examination of the Punjab as private candidates because the Punjab standards, especially in English, had the reputation of being low Mr Richey went further and stated that it was not uncommon for boys reading in Ajmer schools to leave school after the ninth class in order to appear as private candidates in the Punjab examination in preference to the Allahabad examination for which these schools prepare It is disturbing to find that in 1926 as many as 3,365 such candidates appeared for the matriculation examination of the Punjab"

25 The question also arises whether the recent expansion in the provision of university education has not made an educational system which was already top-heavy still more top-heavy, whether in the interests of university education itself and still more in the interests of the lower educational institutions which feed the universities and of the classes from which university students are drawn, the time has not come when all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced education to students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community

VI —Teaching and Research

26 **Tutorial instruction.**—Tutorial work now often supplements 'mass lectures', especially in the smaller colleges and universities, but sometimes exists only in name In some of the larger colleges, with more than one thousand students in each, and a relatively small staff, it is obviously impossible for the teacher to give individual attention to his pupils, and tutorial classes consist of large groups of ten or twenty students or even more But in the new teaching universities the system has been used wisely and, it is acknowledged, with real benefit to the students Not only are they trained to think and to work for themselves, but the teacher is enabled to watch the character and aptitude of his pupils and to give them useful advice and guidance At least, a beginning has been made in this new and fruitful method, which is needed both for pass students and, especially, for Honours students, and which has been made easier by an increase in the proportion of teachers to students

27 **Honours Courses** —It was pointed out by the Calcutta University Commission that, with the increase of numbers in colleges and universities, the interests of the abler students were neglected An important development of recent years, calculated to remedy this defect, has been the growth of honours work and its differentiation from the pass courses, and of the post-graduate work in preparation for the M A and M Sc degrees In some of the universities especially the unitary universities, the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission have been adopted Honours courses have been placed on a new footing and extend for three years after the intermediate stage, the standard in the honours subjects is of a higher standard throughout the course than that for the pass degree, and in order that the training may not be too narrow the student is also obliged to take one or more subsidiary subjects On the other hand, the old tradition of constituting an honours course merely by adding a few subjects to the two years' course for the pass degree has been continued in some universities As we have

stated previously, effective teaching of an advanced character can only be given in a relatively small number of centres It is far better for the abler student, who wishes to take honours, to go to those centres than to an isolated and ill-equipped college, of which the teaching cannot be adequate to its purpose

28 We do not think that the colleges and their best teachers should be excluded from taking part in honours work at university centres supplied with the necessary equipment for higher studies On the contrary, we regard co-operation between the college staffs and the university staff at such centres as desirable in the interests both of economy and efficiency There should be proper co-ordination throughout between the university and its colleges in these centres, so that a student who has unwisely entered on an honours course may be re-transferred to a pass course without difficulty To crowd the honours classes with ill-prepared students who are unlikely to achieve success is of no service to any one and involves an expenditure which cannot be justified We should favour a scheme under which every honours student at one of the higher centres of affiliating universities was attached to a college, so that he might take an active part in the social life of the college, even although he might receive all his instruction in university laboratories and class-rooms

29 **Research.**—Ten years ago, the amount of original work carried on in Indian universities was small The Report of the Calcutta University Commission showed that a beginning had been made in Bengal, but it was only a beginning In some of the other provinces there was also a beginning In response to our enquiries we have received interesting lists of the original work published during the last nine years by the teaching staffs of the universities and their students and by Institutes like the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, the Bose Institute and by the Government Research Departments These lists show that a considerable advance has been made It is now generally recognised in India, as in the universities in the west, that the man who occupies a university chair or readership should have done original work and be able to guide his best students in research *

30 Research has been encouraged by the establishment of research degrees at the M A , the M Sc , and the doctorate stage; by the award of special scholarships, and by the creation of scientific journals There could be no better evidence of the new spirit in Indian universities than the Journal of the Indian Chemical Society, recently founded by that veteran worker Sir P C Roy, and the Indian Journal of Physics founded by Prof C V Raman

* Sir George Anderson does not agree with this opinion.

F R S These journals, published in Calcutta, contain contributions from all over India of which the general standard is high. The memoirs published by the Archæological Department, the Zoological Survey, the Geological Survey, and the Medical Research and other Government Departments have a world-wide reputation, but the number of workers in these departments is necessarily limited, and it is on the universities and research institutes like the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and the Jagadish Bose Institute founded by Sir Jagadish Bose, F R S , at Calcutta, and the recently established Bhandarkar Institute at Poona (for Sanskrit studies) that India must largely depend for an extension of research work which would in the future make Indian contributions to the advancement of knowledge comparable in amount to that of other countries with an equal number of university teachers and students

31 **Laboratories and libraries**—It has also been realised in many places that for this purpose well-equipped laboratories and adequate laboratory grants are necessary in science departments The needs of the existing libraries both as regards books, collections of the chief periodicals, and current periodicals, are still very great The dispersion of resources for university teaching among a number of colleges has made it difficult to build up university libraries of the type required for advanced work both at the Honours and the research stage The want is the more marked, because scholars and men of science in India have not at their disposal libraries comparable to those of the learned and scientific institutions on which the scholar and scientist in England so largely depend The largest university library in India, that of the University of Calcutta, only contains 100,000 books, Lahore, Allahabad and Dacca come next The majority of university libraries are inadequate and all need great additions; and no object could be more worthy of the generous benefactor than the endowment of university libraries in such a way that they may be able to supply the proper foundations for higher work in the departments in which teaching and research are carried on and be kept up to date

VII —The relations of universities to public life

32 Universities are not isolated institutions devoted wholly to teaching, study and research They are, in a real sense, organs of the commonwealth with a place of their own in the national economy There is a growing recognition of the place which the university should fill and of its importance, and a more earnest and practical desire to enable it to fill that place As evidence, we may point to the great benefactions by which the older universities have been strengthened and by which new universities have been called into being Of the older universities

Calcutta has been most successful in evoking public contributions, and the Rash Behary Ghose, Palit and Khaira benefactions have enabled that university to develop its science activities and also to institute chairs in other subjects Bombay has also had great benefactions The Universities of Benares and Aligarh owe their existence very largely to private munificence Large contributions have been given to Lucknow and Rangoon universities by generous and public-spirited philanthropists The creation of the most recent university of all that at Chidambaram, is largely the result of the liberality of a single individual More and more, the universities of India are becoming the objects of the generosity of wealthy men This is as it should be

The proper conduct of universities is a matter of first rate importance to the State because it is in them that the leaders of the country are trained It is therefore pertinent to ask how far university education is calculated to produce, and is producing, men who will be able to play a worthy part in public life It is true that legislative and administrative capacity are developed largely by experience and by practical knowledge of affairs, but the foundation needs to be laid at an earlier stage It is from his university teaching that a young man should learn to examine critically the material before him, to arrive at a balanced judgment, and not to be carried away by mere catchwords But in public affairs something more than the power of criticism and intellectual judgment is needed It is mainly outside the class-room that a boy learns the lessons of corporate life, how to understand the views of others and to work with them, how to sacrifice cheerfully his private inclinations for the common good, and how to lead others by influence rather than by authority He learns these lessons by daily contact with his fellows in clubs and societies, in the playing fields and the common-room, and also not least by the guidance of wise teachers from whom a timely word may mean so much

133 In the early days, when students were few and well-selected the relations between teachers and students in the colleges were intimate But the very large influx of students, many of them none too well-selected, during the last twenty or thirty years, has imposed a heavier burden on most colleges and universities than they could reasonably be expected to bear It is not surprising, therefore, that the activities of universities and colleges are not always well-balanced or adjusted, that the social atmosphere is only partially developed, that many of the opportunities of building up a corporate sense and of arousing and finding outlets for a spirit of service remain unused The graduate on leaving college is only too often a man with no wide or living intellectual interests, with no discipline

or experience in the difficult art of living in a community, with no training in leadership and with little sense of his responsibility to others

34 Ten years ago, the Calcutta University Commission painted a gloomy picture of student life in Bengal, and much of what was then said is still true to-day There are signs, however, that the university and college authorities in India are beginning to realise more fully the value of corporate life and social activities There is a growing feeling that education is not merely a matter of lectures, books and notes, but of the living contact of personalities, of students with students, and of students with teachers Opportunities for corporate life are being extended by college societies, by hostels and halls of residence, by games and healthy recreation, college days and reunions, socials, old students' gatherings, college societies and magazines, these are now the rule rather than the exception In a number of universities, there are social service leagues which encourage in the student a sympathy with his less fortunate fellow citizens and which impress upon him that it is a duty and a privilege to give them a helping hand

35 We quote the following passage from the last Bengal Quinquennial Review —

> "There is marked improvement also in the conditions of student life While none of the arts colleges can be properly called residential, there are a few which may almost justify that description St Paul's College, Calcutta, has splendid hostels which house about half its students At Daulatpur, there is accommodation for 385 boarders The Carmichael College, Rangpur, has four well-built hostels and an attractive students' club-house The Scottish Churches College maintains five hostels and two messes, and the Krishnath College, Berhampore, no fewer than nine hostels The supervision of hostels is also more satisfactory In most colleges, common rooms for students are provided The interest in, and opportunities for, games, physical exercise and recreation are greater than ever before Especially in the mufassal, ample playgrounds and varied sports (including rowing) are now the rule rather than the exception "*

There are similar signs at Nagpur and Lahore —

> "The intellectual and social life of the colleges has improved considerably during the quinquennium Existing literary, philosophical, scientific and debating societies

* Bengal Q R, page 27

> have been improved and new societies started A sense of responsibility has been developed through the prefect system in the college hostels . On the athletic side, interest in games has been quickened by the University tournament and by inter-year team games by the colleges themselves These activities, intellectual and physical, have provided the stimulus to action which adolescence naturally and rightly demands and have brought colour into the otherwise drab scheme of students' life A college and university spirit is slowly but steadily growing up As one Principal remarks, the problem of the colleges is no longer to inculcate the elementary principles of loyalty to the college This is growing gradually, but with increasing strength "*

The experience of Mr A S Hemmy, who has recently retired after 29 years' service at Government College, Lahore, is also of importance —

> "The student was [formerly] rarer and therefore more likely to be a picked man, he was more serious-minded, perhaps inwardly more ambitious, but outwardly less enterprising He was less self-indulgent, less liberal The spirit of youth did not pervade the air then as now, youth with its irresponsibility and its effervescence, with its fickleness and waywardness, but youth with its warm-hearted responsiveness to disinterested appeals, its hopefulness, and its ideals, it is a gayer and a freer atmosphere If the high resolutions formed within the college walls mature to a constant devotion to the duties there conceived, we need have no fears for the future "†

36 **Health of students.**—The Calcutta University Commission reported very unfavourably on the health of the students and on the ineffective measures then taken to counteract this evil It is satisfactory at any rate that the urgency and the importance of the matter has at last been brought home The investigations of the Calcutta University Students' Welfare Union and of similar committees elsewhere have revealed an alarming amount of ill-health among the students, and, what is even worse, that the physical condition of many students actually deteriorates during their college career, although in Dacca it has been found that many students are in better condition in term time than on their return from the vacation Compulsory physical training has been suggested as the remedy and is being adopted in some universities and colleges, but

* Central Provinces Q R , page 22
† Punjab Q R , page 37

it is in schools rather than in colleges that ill-health begins and it is in them that remedies should first be applied Much can be done by the provision of hostels where plenty of light and air and well-cooked food are available, and also by paying greater attention to games and to providing wider facilities for them It is a good sign that the Indian student is taking a deeper interest in games, and more and more as a participant rather than as a mere spectator

VIII —Unemployment of university graduates

37 That the universities and colleges of India are at the present moment turning out large numbers of graduates who cannot find employment is well-known With the general aspects of unemployment it is impossible for us to deal They have been discussed by a number of special committees appointed to investigate the causes and cure of such unemployment

Some of the causes of unemployment are obvious Commerce in India does not at present demand the services of any large number of highly trained men and the industries of India, apart from agriculture, are still comparatively undeveloped Agriculture, which is by far the greatest industry of India, offers at the present moment few opportunities for graduates, although if the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission are adopted the number of openings will be sensibly increased Law in India, as in other countries, is a profession in which there are a few prizes for the specially gifted, and many blanks, the average pleader finds it difficult to earn a living Medicine and engineering can employ only relatively small numbers and the education of doctors and of engineers is expensive

38 There can be little doubt that one of the main attractions of the universities and colleges to men who have no taste for academic studies and insufficient qualifications for pursuing them, is the insistence on a university degree by Government and other employers as a passport to service If Government were to abandon that requirement for all appointments in which it is not really needed, the pressure on the universities and colleges would probably be lessened We suggest that for many clerical appointments, Government examinations comparable to the examinations of the Civil Service Commissioners in England and specially designed for the purpose they are intended to meet, might replace the requirement that candidates for these appointments should possess a university degree The appointments that we have in mind are purely clerical appointments and not appointments to the higher services for which the number of candidates is relatively small, and which do not materially affect the numbers in the universities

39 The universities are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by their university training To many hundreds, the years of training mean a waste of money and of precious years of youth, nor is it only private money which is wasted Each student in a university or college costs in every country far more than his fees, sometimes five or six times as much, and this money in India comes in part from endowments, but very largely from the public purse If those students who now go to a university or a college without being really fitted for higher work were diverted in large numbers at an earlier stage to careers better suited to their capacity, money would be set free for more profitable educational uses, and the training of the best men could be appreciably improved The overcrowding of universities and colleges by men of whom a large number fail and for whom there is no economic demand has vitally affected the quality of university education

40 The extension of technical training, which is far more expensive than literary training, has been widely advocated We fully sympathise with the desire to develop such technical training though we feel bound to point out that the training of technical experts only creates more unemployed, unless there are industries to absorb them A few universities have opened their own Employment Bureaus, an example which deserves to be more widely followed

IX —External activities of universities

41 The universities have responsibilities not only to their students but also to the country at large Here and there, a few courses of lectures have been given to the general public, but not on any large scale, nor with any great success Much more might be done in this way to educate the general public, and to make available information on various subjects for classes of men like secondary school teachers who are often cut off from headquarters by the exigencies of their work and position Nor is it only in this way that a university can render a service to the community It should inculcate the ideal of civic duty in its alumni The Royal Agricultural Commission has pleaded that universities should take their share in the great work of rural uplift In the cities, too, much could be done by university workers who are willing to give a part or whole of their time to social service, as is done in other countries No university has as yet its own Settlement of social service Efforts are being made in some universities to inspire the students with the feeling that education is a responsibility as well as a privilege and that their training has profited them little if it does not benefit their fellow-citizens of lower estate and help to bring together men and women of all classes But much remains to be done in this field of work

CHAPTER VII.

Education of Girls and Women.

I — Statistical data and the disparity between the state of boys' and of girls' education

1 We give first the more important figures regarding women's education and contrast them with corresponding figures for men

The following Table gives the figures for literacy among men and women respectively in 1911 and 1921 —

TABLE LXIX

Population and literacy by provinces

Province and female population (in millions) 1921	Percentage of literates.			
	1911		1921	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Madras (21)	13 8	1 35	15 2	2·1
Bombay (9)	12 1	1 5	14 1	2 5
Bengal (22)	14 0	1 1	15 9	1 8
United Provinces (21)	6 1	0 5	6 5	0 6
Punjab (9)	6 5	0 6	6·7	0 8
Burma (6)	37 6	6 1	44 8	9 7
Bihar and Orissa (17)	8 0	0 4	8 8	0 6
Central Provinces (7)	6 8	0 3	8 4	0·7
Assam (3)	8 8	0 6	11 0	1 3
British India (120)	11 3	1 1	13 0	1 8

2 In 1921, less than one woman in fifty in British India could read and write, and progress in literacy both for men and women had been very slow In the ten years, 1911-1921, the increase in the percentage of those who could read and write was 1 7 for men; but only 0 7 for women Thus, up to 1921, the disparity in literacy between men and women was increasing We can have no further direct and definite information on this point until the Census of 1931.

3 **Institutions** —The following Tables show the growth in the number of institutions, and of girls under instruction in 1917 and in 1927 —

TABLE LXX

Institutions for girls *

Province (and female population in millions) 1921	1917				1927				1917	1927
	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Colleges	Special institutions	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Colleges	Special institutions	Total	Total
Madras (21)	1,692	72	8	43	3,309	99	7	74	1 815	3,579
Bombay (9)	1,110	77	..	20	1,585	87		44	1,216	1,666
Bengal (23)	9,371	90	5	100	14,612	112	7	49	9,566	14,780
United Provinces (21)	1,089	111	4	32	1,580	210	5	41	1,236	1,845
Punjab (9)	935	75	2	18	1,233	114	3	39	1,030	1,388
Burma (6)	937	140		6	606	141		32	1,083	775
Bihar and Orissa (17)	2,240	23		289	2,700	33	1	25	2,561	2 848
Central Provinces (7)	316	43		6	334	61		9	365	404
Assam (3)	329	25		3	400	37		4	357	450
British India (120)	18,113	689	16	548	26,082	965	26	328	19,365	28,001

4 The figures of growth are striking Between 1917 and 1922, the increase in the number of institutions for girls was 4,413 or 22 8 per cent, between 1922 and 1927, it was 4,223 or 17 8 per cent During the latter quinquennium the increase in the number of institutions for boys was 33,512 or 22 5 per cent It must, however, be remembered that many girls attend boys' primary schools The total numbers of institutions for boys and for girls in 1927 are shewn below —

	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Arts Colleges
For boys	162,666	10,373	213
For girls	26,682	965	19

* The secondary schools in this Table include both high and middle schools *vide* the Tables on page 97

5 **Enrolment.**—We now consider the figures for the total number of girls under instruction —

TABLE LXXI

Girls under instruction

Province (and female population in millions) 1921	Recognised Institutions			Percentage of female population of school going age under instruction in 1927	Percentage of total female population under instruction in 1927	Percentage of total male population under instruction in 1927
	1917	1922	1927			
Madras (21)	307,125	367,359	525,697	17 9	2 5	9 2
Bombay (9)	134,684	175,079	215,859	16 8	2 3	8 8
Bengal (22)	289,800	338,578	416,415	13 1	1 8	7 7
United Provinces (21)	63,286	93,309	119,215	3 9	0 5	4 8
Punjab (9)	54,901	62,867	89,517	5 7	0 8	8 8
Burma (6)	120,207	116,714	166,193	18 4	2 6	4 1
Bihar and Orissa (17)	109,291	105,771	115,785	4 3	0 7	5 6
Central Provinces (7)	36,739	38,390	42,359	4 4	0 6	5 0
Assam (3)	27,723	26,808	34,691	6 8	0 9	5 9
British India (120)	1,156,747	1,340,812	1,751,607	10 4	1 5	6·9

6 Between 1917 and 1922, the increase in the number of girls under instruction was only 184 000 Between 1922 and 1927, it was over 400,000 or 30 6 per cent , a very substantial increase, but in the latter quinquennium the increase in the number of male pupils was 2,400,000 or 37 1 per cent, thus, the difference between the number of boys and girls at school, already great, was increased by two millions In no province does one girl out of five attend school, in some provinces not one out of 20 or 25 In Madras, three out of five boys attend school in Burma, where the proportion is lowest, one out of four In British India, only ten per cent of the girls of school-going age attend school, the figure for boys is four times as high

7 The disparity, and the growing disparity, between the figures for boys and those for girls, is even more significant than appears

at first sight, for it increases as we go up the educational ladder, starting from the lowest primary class In the primary stage, taken as a whole, the number of girls is one-fourth of the number of boys But the pupils in Class IV of girls' schools form only 5 6 per cent of the total number in Classes I to IV, whereas in boys' schools the corresponding percentage is 9 1

Again, in middle schools for boys the number of pupils is 18 times as great as in the corresponding schools for girls, and in the high stage it is 34 times as great In arts colleges it is 33 times as great, the number of men students being over 64,000, and that of women only 1,900

8 **Expenditure** —We now give the figures for annual expenditure on girls' institutions and compare them with the corresponding figures for boys —

TABLE LXXII

IV —Direct expenditure on girls' institutions

[In lakhs]

—	1917	1922	1927	Expenditure on women's institutions expressed as a percentage of the expenditure on the men's institutions
	Rs	Rs	Rs	
Madras ..	20 00	34 64	49 85	17 2
Bombay .	18 37	39 39	53 25	19 5
Bengal .	16 51	23 36	28 09	10 9
United Provinces ..	10 19	17 94	23 14	12 1
Punjab . ..	9 03	16 34	19 76	10 4
Burma	6 74	10 77	17 02	18 1
Bihar and Orissa	4 80	6 36	8 34	7 3
Central Provinces .	2 98	5 80	6 44	9 7
Assam	1 24	2 18	2 75	10 1
British India .	92 87	163 09	219 92	14 4

Between 1917 and 1922, the increase in direct expenditure on women's institutions was 70 2 lakhs, between 1922 and 1927 it was only 56 8 lakhs The corresponding increases in men's institutions were 440 0 lakhs and 392 0 lakhs. During the ten years

1917-1927, the total increase in the direct expenditure was 832 0 lakhs on boys' education and only 127 0 lakhs on girls' education

9 The following Table shows the amounts spent on primary schools for girls as compared with the expenditure on boys' schools —

TABLE LXXIII

Total direct expenditure on boys' and on girls' primary schools *

	1917		1922		1927	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Lakhs		Lakhs		Lakhs	
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	58 88	11·26	87 38	19 11	142 83	27 68
Bombay	53 71	9 76	125 31	24 21	163 36	35 21
Bengal	38 20	6 33	45 03	9 05	58 60	11 01
United Provinces	26 15	2 65	62 92	4 49	78 49	5 82
Punjab	15 83	3 82	27 36	6 96	35 00	7 35
Burma	8 63	1 72	11 83	2 56	16 19	3 88
Bihar and Orissa	24 87	2 75	32 43	3 73	51 07	4 79
Central Provinces	14 31	1 83	25 12	3 10	29 09	3 52
Assam	6 91	0 59	8 39	0 74	10 22	0 96
British India	251 58	41 58	433 47	75 61	592 20	103 01

These figures do not represent fairly the relative amounts spent on the education of boys and of girls, since, as stated above, in every province a certain proportion of the girls at the primary stage are taught in boys' schools The percentage varies from about 8 in the Punjab to 55 in Madras and 78 in Burma

* In order to show that girls' education is not being neglected as compared with that of boys, figures are sometimes given in official documents showing the relative *percentage* increase of expenditure on girls' education as compared with that for boys In some cases, though by no means always, the percentage of increase is greater for girls than for boys and this may lead to the inference that the girls are being unduly favoured The inference would obviously be false, because the female population is approximately the same as the male and the starting point for the girls is so far behind

10 The following Table shows the expenditure by provinces in India on secondary boys' schools and secondary girls' schools —

TABLE LXXIV

Total direct expenditure in lakhs on secondary education for boys and for girls

Province	1917		1922		1927		Percentage of increase between 1917—1927	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs		
Madras	41 68	5 53	5 36	0 66	77 10	12 68	84 98	129 29
Bombay	29 41	6 56	44 25	11 52	60 32	14 78	105 10	125 30
Bengal	78 01	8 39	91 64	11 21	115 05	13 29	47 48	58 40
United Provinces	33 27	6 54	56 58	11 07	63 63	14 22	91 25	117 43
Punjab	29 80	3 99	61 92	6 83	104 25	9 26	249 88	134 59
Burma	25 54	4 54	36 84	7 41	65 05	11 35	154 69	150 0
Bihar and Orissa	15 79	1 34	21 48	1 92	29 78	2 51	88 60	87 31
Central Provinces	11 75	85	20 64	1 84	25 05	2 09	113 19	145 88
Assam	6 64	64	9 51	1 88	11 40	1 72	71 69	168 75
British India	279 41	39 88	422 17	65 09	574 54	87 40	105 62	119 16

Thus during the decade the disproportion between the expenditure on boys and that on girls has been very considerably increased, especially in the Punjab, Bihar and Bengal

11 The figures in this section, taken as a whole, shew that there has been a definite quantitative advance in female education, but that the public expenditure on girls' education is still small compared to that on boys' education, that the disparity between the amounts spent on the two is increasing, notwithstanding the fact that, owing to greater difficulties, girls' education must necessarily be more expensive than that of boys, and, as a consequence, there is a growing disparity between the number of educated men and educated women

II —The importance of girls' education

12 The importance of the education of girls and women in India at the present moment cannot be overrated It affects vitally the range and efficiency of all education The education of the girl is the education of the mother, and through her of her children The middle and high classes of India have long suffered from the dualism of an educated manhood and an ignorant womanhood—a dualism that lowers the whole level of the home and domestic life and has its reaction on personal and national character Many of our witnesses have emphasised the dominating influence of the woman in the Indian household and specially in the training of her children "A literate woman"

says one of our witnesses, very justly, "is a far better and surer guarantee of the education of the coming generation than a literate man An illiterate woman on the contrary is in her own time very often the cause of the stagnation not only of the generation that is slowly growing up but of the generation which is in the prime of life as well"

13 The innate intelligence of the Indian woman, her feeling of domestic responsibility, her experience of household management, make her shrewd, penetrating, wise within her own sphere The social position of the Indian woman needs to be strengthened, for in every country, as power passes more and more from the hands of the few into the hands of the many, more and more is the steadying influence of woman needed as the guardian of family life not only inside but outside the family circle In all matters of educational and social reform, the counsel and the active work of women are essential both in administration and in public affairs

The education of women, especially in the higher stages, will make available to the country a wealth of capacity that is now largely wasted through lack of opportunity It is only through education that Indian women will be able to contribute in increasing measure to the culture, the ideals and the activities of the country

14 The importance of girls' and women's education has been insisted on in various resolutions of the Government of India and of local Governments and in the recommendations of many commissions and committees appointed from time to time

In *Madras*, a conference of the gazetted women officers of the Education Department was held in August, 1927, and as a result of the deliberations of this conference a detailed survey of the position of women's education was made and a report on the development of women's education was submitted to Government in 1928

In *Bombay*, the first all-India Women's Conference on educational reform was held in Poona in January, 1927. The conference passed many resolutions relating to the state of girls' education and urged on Government the necessity of making primary education compulsory for girls and of providing adequate physical training and medical inspection

In *Bengal*, the first meeting of the Bengal Women's Education League was held in February, 1927, and the League set up a standing committee to carry out the programme of work outlined at the meeting

In the *Punjab*, the urgent importance of girls' education has been recognised in a Resolution issued by the Punjab

Government in February, 1928 The Resolution deals with all the aspects of girls' education and states that "the right development of girls' education is of urgent importance to the well-being of the province, and it may be urged that it is more important even than the progress of boys' education The education of girls is by no means an isolated problem as it is closely interwoven with the whole texture of national life It illiteracy is to be banished from the Punjab and if the education of boys and girls in schools is to be brought into harmony with the conditions and circumstances of the home, it is essential that the system of girls' education should be both expanded and improved The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger and wider sense than does the education of a single boy "

In the *Central Provinces*, a committee of officials and non officials was appointed in November, 1926 The terms of reference of the committee included the improvement and extension of primary and secondary education for girls and the possibility of extending co-education at certain stages The committee submitted a comprehensive report to Government incorporating many recommendations The general view of the committee is summarised in their statement that "the advancement of India is bound up with the education of girls and unless active measures are taken to further their education and a public demand created, the general progress of the country must be impeded "

III —Obstacles to progress

15 **Conservatism** —The conservative attitude of parents in the past greatly hindered progress Even educated fathers appear to have been primarily concerned with a utilitarian education for their sons and some have considered this type of education dangerous and unnecessary for girls Conservatism and prejudice are undoubtedly dying out, but there are still provinces and areas in which they have to be overcome It is to be remembered that much of the prejudice in the past has been the prejudice against an education which has taken little account of the needs of the home and has seldom made provision for religious instruction of any kind

16 **The 'purdah' system.**—The 'purdah' system which prevails all over Northern and North-Eastern India has also proved a serious obstacle, but we cannot believe that purdah in itself has actually prevented the education of small girls Nowhere, except in very rare and isolated cases, are girls under the age of ten in purdah, though parents in some provinces object even to small girls

attending boys' schools and to girls being taught by male teachers The influence of purdah, however, makes itself felt in other ways For a girl who is to enter purdah when still so young formal school education is not always regarded as necessary The whole structure of a social system in which purdah is maintained militates against the wide-spread education of women

17 **Early marriage** —One of the most formidable obstacles in the way of progress in the past has been the early marriage age of girls in certain communities The Census figures for the year 1921 show that in that year 2,230,000 girls were married under the age of ten and that 8½ million girls, including 1½ million Muhammadan girls, were married under the age of fifteen In recent years the age has been steadily advanced, but amongst certain classes early marriage still seriously interferes with the education and, particularly, the higher education of girls

18 We have thought it necessary to draw prominent attention to these difficulties which have hindered the growth of girls' education, but we do not suggest that there is anything inherent either in the Hindu or in the Muhammadan religion which militates against the education of women In fact, there were in India even in very early days many examples of women possessing wide knowledge, particularly of sacred and classical literature

IV —Varying conditions in the different provinces

19 In analysing the present state of girls' education it must be kept in mind that conditions vary considerably from province to province, and that progress is necessarily slower in rural than in urban areas

20 **Burma** —We discuss separately the conditions in Burma, because that province possesses characteristics peculiar to itself and almost unknown in other provinces The social conditions of the people, amongst the great majority of whom caste, purdah and early marriage do not exist, are favourable to a rapid development of girls' education, and the social status of women has always permitted and encouraged learning amongst girls and independent careers for women The percentage of literacy (9 7) among women is four times as high as in any other province in India and the percentage of the total female population under instruction is the highest in India (2 6) Co-education is common and meets with little opposition even in the higher stages 78 5 per cent of the girls under instruction are at present reading in boys' schools In the lower stages the majority of the schools are really mixed schools, since over one-third of the pupils reading in the middle vernacular and primary schools, classified as boys schools, are girls Even at the high school stage there are more girls reading in boys' schools than in girls' schools The

successful working of co-education has been partly due to the common practice of staffing the lower classes of primary and secondary schools by women teachers During our visit to Burma we found that schools without women teachers were the exception rather than the rule In Rangoon University there is no special provision for women, but 146 women are reading in the men's colleges Thus, social conditions present few obstacles to the progress of girls' education It is disappointing, therefore, that there are only 166,000 girls reading in recognised institutions while the female population of school going age is over 900,000 A much larger provision of schools, trained teachers and inspecting staff is required

21 **Other provinces** —Conditions are far more favourable to progress in some provinces than in others We give a brief analysis of the position in each of the provinces —

In *Madras*, in the past, conservatism and prejudice were responsible for the slow progress in girls' education, and social customs, such as early marriage among the higher castes, made difficult both the attendance of girls at school and the provision of women teachers In recent years conditions have been more favourable to a rapid advance The purdah system is confined to a small section of the population, early marriage, though common, is not to be found amongst many large and important communities, co-education in the primary stage is not opposed by the majority of the people, and women teachers have been forthcoming in comparatively large numbers In consequence of these favourable conditions the foundations of a sound system of education have been laid and there are indications of rapid progress in the future Approximately 300,000 girls, or 55 per cent of the total under instruction, are reading in boys' schools, so that co-education on a large scale has proved successful Over 10,000 women teachers, of whom over 7,000 are trained are working in the schools Five arts and two training colleges for women have been opened, in consequence of which "a relatively good and increasing supply of trained women graduates is available and little difficulty is to be anticipated in obtaining the requisite supply of women teachers of this grade to staff all secondary and training schools that may be opened in the future" The women's branch of the Inspectorate is entirely staffed by women and, though the number of inspecting officers is inadequate all girls' schools, however remote they may be, are now inspected by women officers *

* A Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, 1928, page 2

In *Bombay*, in the Presidency proper, conditions are specially favourable for an advance amongst the upper classes, among whom elementary and even secondary and university education for girls are largely demanded

Amongst the communities classified as backward the outlook is not so hopeful and outside urban areas many difficulties have still to be overcome Women teachers are available for work in the towns, but the number of those who are willing or able to go out into the villages is very limited

Co-education in the primary stage does not appear to be objected to, since over 68,000 girls are reading in boys' primary schools Amongst the "advanced" classes, co-education, even at the university stage, apparently presents few difficulties since 449 women are reading in the arts and professional colleges for men and there are no recognised colleges for women in Bombay

In *Sind*, where purdah is strictly observed above the age of twelve, conservatism, the absence of women teachers and the insistence on religious instruction are still obstacles, and the girls under instruction are practically confined to the lowest primary classes

In *Bengal*, except in the big towns, the position is extremely depressing "An overwhelming majority of girls leave school after the first year and soon relapse into ignorance" * In spite of the very large number of girls' schools only 17 per cent of the girls in Class I reach even Class II The girls' primary schools are mainly staffed by men and co-education has been so little resorted to that only 14 per cent of the girls under instruction in all institutions are reading in boys' schools In the high and university stages the Hindus have made some progress, but among Muhammadans, who form the majority of the population, the higher education of women has scarcely begun

In the *United Provinces*, which has the lowest percentage of girls under instruction of all the provinces, the position is far from encouraging "The distribution of literacy between the sexes is disquietingly uneven, and social and economic forces accelerate the disparity from year to year While Government and progressive public opinion both recognise the problem, and are facing it, the tenacity of orthodox views, the conditions of public finances, the limited margin for further taxation and numerous social and economic

* Bengal Q R, page 61

obstacles hardly justify the hope that the breakdown of female illiteracy will be a rapid process "*

The girls of school-going age in the provinces number over three million, but the total number of girls under instruction in all classes of institutions is only 119,000 Only 93,000 girls are reading in primary schools and of these the great majority are in Class I Co-education is not popular and rarely extends beyond Class II Women teachers in primary schools number only just over 2,000 and of these only 285 are trained Indications of real progress are to be found only in urban areas in which facilities for girls' education are greater, the provision of women teachers is easier, and higher education now attracts a small number of advanced Hindus and Muhammadans

In the *Punjab*, conditions are more or less similar to those in the United Provinces While in the towns there are hopeful signs of advance, even in higher education, in rural areas girls' education is very backward The main difficulties have been the conservatism of the people, the almost entire absence of co-education even at the lower primary stage, the dearth of women teachers, the scarcity of village schools, which is due very largely to the lack of sympathy on the part of local bodies, and the difficulty of providing separate schools for the girls of different communities in which instruction through the medium of the home language and religious instruction will be given

In *Bihar*, in spite of the special efforts which have been made in recent years, conditions are still very unfavourable to progress in girls' education " The Reforms have made little impression on the social customs of the country, such as the purdah, that hamper female education, nor have they begun to bring about a wide spread realisation of its advantages, which is a necessary preliminary to substantial progress Trained women teachers are still scarce and though co-education under male teachers is advocated in some quarters, the objections to such an arrangement are strongly felt by large classes of the community "†

There are nearly two and a half million girls of school-going age in Bihar but only 116,000 girls are under instruction in recognised institutions Of these over 110 000

* United Provinces Memorandum, page 137

† Bihar and Orissa Special Memorandum, page 216

are in primary schools and are almost entirely confined to the two lowest classes In higher education the province is exceptionally backward and only a few hundred pupils, mainly Indian Christians and Hindus, are to be found above the middle stage There are, however, some signs of an awakening

In the *Central Provinces*, the conditions are almost as difficult as in Bihar and Orissa "The fact is that in this province female education has still to struggle against apathy, amounting in certain rural districts to antipathy, born of long-standing prejudice, social customs and conservatism Financial pressure, which makes the education of boys an economic necessity, retards the education of girls"* Only in urban areas has any real progress been made As in other provinces the greatest difficulty has been the provision of teachers and in primary schools there are only 880 women teachers, of whom less than half are trained Co-education has achieved some success but only at the lower primary stage and mainly as the result of a system of bonuses to the teachers in boys' schools who admit girls The great majority of the girls under instruction never proceed beyond Class II and only 200 girls are reading above the middle stage, of whom only one is a Muhammadan

In *Assam*, there are several hopeful signs Co-education has undoubtedly been successful at the primary stage and more girls are reading in boys' primary schools than in girls' primary schools "Boys' schools continue to play an important part in the education of girls In the Hills co-education is general, in the plains it is not unusual in the case of little girls where there is no girls' school for them to attend"† The number of girls reading above the middle stage has considerably increased in recent years and now includes over 160 Hindus and 8 Muhammadans Five years previously the total number of Indian girls above the middle stage was only 50 In view of the general backwardness and poverty of Assam and of the difficulty of providing instruction for the Hill tribes and aborigines, it is encouraging that the percentage of girls under instruction is higher than in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar or the Central Provinces

V —Organisation and Control

22 In all the provinces, girls' education is under the administrative control of the Director of Public Instruction But in three

* Central Provinces Q R, page 83
† Assam Q R, page 79

provinces, Madras, the Punjab and Bihar, the headquarters office of the Education Department has been strengthened by the creation of a post of a deputy directress for girls' education In the United Provinces there is a chief inspectress of girls' education who, in addition to her inspection work, advises the Director of Public Instruction on matters concerning women's education But in the majority of the provinces the advice of a woman officer of experience is not available at headquarters If an extension of girls' education is to be effective, it is essential that, in all provinces, the Directors of Public Instruction should be assisted and advised by competent women officers in matters of policy as well as of administration Not only is it natural that women themselves should best understand the difficulties and needs of girls' education, but in most provinces, owing to purdah and social custom, it is impossible for a male officer to have any intimate knowledge of the conditions prevailing in the colleges and schools under his charge

The existence of inspectresses of schools, who may or may not be available at any moment of time to advise a Director of Public Instruction, is not in our opinion sufficient A woman officer of standing and experience is necessary as a whole-time officer in the headquarters office to prepare plans and programmes for the expansion of girls' education

We were informed in evidence in Bombay that the absence of a woman officer at headquarters had not been felt and had not affected the progress of girls' education We hesitate to accept this view, for, while social conditions for an advance are favourable, the progress has been comparatively slow in that province

23 **Representation of women on Boards** —The absence of adequate representation of women on local bodies and other boards connected with the control of education is regrettable Madras stands almost alone with its representation of women on district boards and municipalities, on district educational councils, on secondary education boards and on managing bodies of publicly managed colleges and schools There are four women elected on to the Bombay Corporation Even in Burma, where girls' education is well advanced, no local authority has, as yet, a woman member

We are not convinced that this state of affairs is due in all provinces to the absence of suitable women for election or nomination, and we think that if the example of Madras were to be more widely followed, many of the difficulties of girls' education relating to the provision of schools, the appointment of suitable teachers and the adoption of satisfactory curricula would be more easily handled and overcome

24 **Special Boards.**—Suggestions have been made, in some provinces both by officials and non-officials, that there should be in

the districts "Committees of Management which shall consist entirely of women members and will aim at placing the control of girls' schools under public management and in the hands of women"* or that special boards for girls' education, particularly secondary education, should be established We are not in a position to discuss how these proposals should be carried into effect or what powers should be delegated to such committees or boards, but we think that in those provinces such as Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Burma where the higher education of girls is comparatively well advanced, a closer association of women with the control of girls' education is desirable † In those provinces in which there are already statutory boards in control of secondary or primary education it should at least be possible to increase the number of women representatives on the boards or to make provision for the representation of women where none exists at present

25 **Inspection.**—Adequate inspection is necessary not only to see that teachers do their work satisfactorily, but also to encourage and guide them, and in no branch of education is helpful inspection more needed than in the education of girls We have had occasion to point out the inadequacy of the inspecting agency for boys' schools, the inadequacy is far greater for girls' schools, as will be seen from the following Table —

TABLE LXXV

Number of women inspecting officers and number of primary schools for girls by provinces

Province	Number of women inspecting officers of all grades	Number of recog nised primary schools
Madras	32	3,399
Bombay	4	1,535
Bengal	14	14,612
United Provinces	12	1,580
Punjab	14	1,232
Burma	4	606
Bihar and Orissa	9	2,790
Central Provinces	6	394
Assam	1	409
British India	99	26,682

* Report on the Development of Women's Education in Madras, page 15

† The following passage illustrates the views of the Calcutta University Commission on this matter —

"On all grounds, therefore, it seems to us to be of the first importance that, just as a Special Standing Committee on the education of girls should be constituted to advise the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, so a special Board should be constituted in the University of Calcutta to organize the provision of more advanced education for women and to make proposals regarding the adaptation of the University degree courses to the needs of women, subject to the approval of the academic authorities of the University We consider that such a Board should enjoy a substantial degree of autonomy" Report, Volume IV, page 370

The figures show that, except in the Central Provinces and possibly the Punjab, the women's inspecting agency has been set an almost impossible task The average number of primary schools alone to be inspected by a woman officer is as follows —

Madras	106
Bombay	384
Bengal	1,043
United Provinces	131
Punjab	68
Burma	151
Bihar and Orissa	310
Central Provinces	55
Assam	409

26 The same women's inspecting staff has, moreover, to inspect a considerable number of high schools, middle schools and training classes If these are added to the total number of schools to be inspected, the average number of institutions per inspectress is as follows —

Madras	111
Bombay	416
Bengal	1,055
United Provinces	153
Punjab	99
Burma	195
Bihar and Orissa	313
Central Provinces	67
Assam	450

27 Taking into account the greater difficulties of travel for women officers, it will be seen that the women's inspecting staff in Bengal, Assam, Bombay, Burma, Bihar and the United Provinces cannot in any circumstances cope with their work For a total of 27,975 girls' institutions (excluding the colleges) there were in 1927 only 99 inspectresses altogether of all grades, an average of 282 institutions per officer, ten years earlier the average was 285 The progress is imperceptible In no province has an inspectress less than an average of 4,000 square miles to cover, in several she has over 8,000, in a few much more Even in Madras and in the Punjab it is extremely doubtful if the women's inspecting staff can complete the inspection of all schools once in the year It is true that in certain provinces many of the primary schools for girls are inspected by the overworked inspectors of boys' schools But the system has grave disadvantages, especially in India, where the presence of men in girls' schools is not usually welcomed

We have pointed out how wide an area the women inspectors have to cover In some of the provinces even the higher grade women officers are not allowed first class travelling expenses and the necessary hardship and discomfort of their journeys is augmented by this fact The pay of women officers is also lower than the pay of the officers of the men's Branch

We have been much impressed with the evidence which is almost universal, that inspectresses should tour widely, often in

difficult and not always safe places, and that their encouragement is much appreciated by the lonely girl teachers We take this occasion to place on record our sincere appreciation of the enthusiasm and courage shown by many of these ladies in carrying out their most difficult and responsible tasks and to express a hope that a larger-minded and more generous recognition of their difficulties will be shown in the future

28 A further increase in the inspecting agency is essential for the growth of girls' education We are not prepared to agree to the view put forward in Bombay that women inspectors are unobtainable even for the subordinate agency A demand for them would, we believe, produce the necessary supply within a reasonably short time

VI —Colleges and Schools

29 **The Colleges** —If rapid progress is to be made in girls' education, it is evident that an essential preliminary to advance is the provision of large numbers of well-educated women who will be the leaders of public opinion and who will form the recruiting ground for highly qualified women-doctors, teachers, supervisors, etc , and therefore progress in high schools and colleges is doubly important

30 The following Table shows the number of arts colleges for women and the number of women reading in arts colleges, by provinces, in 1922 and 1927 —

TABLE LXXVI

Number of arts colleges for women, and number of women in arts colleges for men and women—1922 and 1927

Province.	Arts colleges for women		Number of women in arts colleges for men and women	
	1922	1927	1922	1927
Madras	4	5	384	490
Bombay	*Nil*	*Nil*	179	382
Bengal	4	4	204	321
United Provinces	4	5	73	133
Punjab	1	2	36	77
Burma	*Nil*	*Nil*	56	138
Bihar and Orissa	1	1	12	7
Central Provinces	*Nil*	*Nil*	2	17
Assam	*Nil*	*Nil*	15	4
British India	14	19	961	1,933

Of the nineteen arts colleges for women in 1927, five were maintained by Government, twelve by missions and two by private agency

31 The total number of women reading in arts colleges is still very small, and consists very largely of Indian Christians In some provinces early steps were taken to provide the necessary facilities for the higher education of women In *Madras*, where conditions are more favourable than in other provinces, the establishment of five arts colleges, two (first-grade) in the Presidency town and three (second-grade) in district headquarters, has resulted in rapid development In the total enrolment of women's colleges, all communities are represented, including 222 Indian Christians, 137 Hindus, four Muhammadans and two from the depressed classes In the *United Provinces*, there are three colleges for women, one (first-grade) at Allahabad, one (first-grade) at Lucknow, and one (second-grade) at Benares The total number of students includes fifty Indian Christians forty-eight Hindus and ten Muhammadans In *Bengal*, there are three first-grade colleges in Calcutta and an intermediate college at Dacca The enrolment includes 61 Indian Christians but only five Muhammadans The colleges in Calcutta are well attended and the Bethune College, a Government institution, is overcrowded In the *Punjab*, both the colleges are located at Lahore and are first-grade institutions The total number of women students includes thirty-three Hindus, twenty-two Indian Christians, twelve Muhammadans and seven Sikhs The figures in these provinces indicate that after the establishment of colleges women came forward in spite of difficulties and restrictions in encouraging numbers

In *Bombay* and *Burma*, collegiate education has made a striking advance, in spite of there being no separate institutions for women In the former province, there are 382 women students, of whom 241 are Indian Christians, 168 are Hindus, 99 are Parsis, but only one is a Muhammadan The Women's University at Poona, which owes much to the devotion of Professor Karve, has three affiliated institutions situated at Poona, Baroda and Ahmedabad, with a total enrolment of forty women This university has done good work for the higher education of women in the Bombay Presidency But the absence of the recognition of its degrees has naturally influenced the size of its colleges We understand that the absence of recognition has only been due to an anxiety on the part of the university to avoid control over the curricula and conditions of examinations in the colleges It might be argued that social conditions in these two provinces render separate colleges unnecessary but, in view of the experience of Madras, it is probable that the establishment of separate colleges would stimulate an even greater advance

The position in *Bihar*, the *Central Provinces* and *Assam* is not encouraging In *Bihar*, there is only an intermediate college, at Cuttack, and its enrolment has fallen from twelve to seven In the *Central Provinces*, there is no separate college for women, but the number of women reading in men's colleges has advanced from

two to seventeen No progress can be recorded in *Assam*, though several girls from that province are reading in Bengal colleges

32 The total number of women receiving collegiate education is very small and the number reading in professional colleges is even smaller There is only a single women's medical college in all India, the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, and there are only a few medical schools for women In the career of medicine there is an almost boundless sphere of useful activity for trained women, but the total number of women in medical colleges in 1927 was only 204 and in medical schools 426 Of the 204 in colleges, 67 were reading at Delhi, 57 in Bombay, 55 in Madras, 22 in Bengal, two in Burma and one in the United Provinces

The fact that nine women were reading in Law colleges is a significant indication of the change in outlook which is helping the cause of women's education As many as five provinces, Madras, Bombay, Burma, Assam and the United Provinces had one woman or more reading law

33 **Secondary Schools** —The following Tables show the number of secondary schools for girls and the number of pupils in them in 1922 and 1927 —

TABLE LXXVII.

Number of high schools for girls and enrolment, 1922 and 1927

	Institutions		Pupils	
	1922	1927	1922	1927
Madras .	51	56	9,714	11,957
Bombay	46	48	7,766	9,683
Bengal .	25	42	4,990	9,421
United Provinces	26	27	3,135	4,260
Punjab	19	21	2,966	3,641
Burma	18	23	4,233	6,423
Bihar and Orissa	4	4	647	814
Central Provinces .	8	7	95	183
Assam .. .	3	5	627	1,063
British India ..	208	243	35,652	49,757

TABLE LXXVIII

Number of middle schools for girls and enrolment, 1922 and 1927.

	Institutions		Pupils	
	1922	1927	1922	1927
Madras	42	43	5,235	5,655
Bombay	41	42	2,939	3,253
Bengal	71	70	8,789	8,072
United Provinces	116	192	11,870	21,663
Punjab	77	93	10,982	16,868
Burma	141	118	12,214	13,306
Bihar and Orissa	25	28	2,773	3,674
Central Provinces	53	54	4,369	5,751
Assam	33	32	2,692	3,098
British India	626	722	65,384	88,049

34 The figures in these Tables may easily give an exaggerated impression of the number of girls who are receiving higher education as they include the very large number of girls who are reading in the primary departments of these schools In 1927, out of the 138,406 pupils in girls' secondary schools, 98,675 were in the primary stage, 32,961 were in the middle stage and only 6,770 were in the high stage Of the total in the high stage, 2,446 were Hindus, 1,879 Indian Christians, 846 Parsees and 143 Muhammadans

The following Table shows the number of pupils in the middle and high stages of girls' secondary schools in 1927, and indicates that, in the United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab in particular, very few girls reach the high stage —

TABLE LXXIX

Enrolment in girls' secondary schools in 1927

Province	Total in secondary schools	Total in middle stage	Total in high stage.
Madras	17,612	9,083	1,623
Bombay	12,936	10,592	2,278
Bengal	17,493	2,287	1,534
United Provinces	25,923	2,807	303
Punjab	20,509	2,879	408
Burma	19,720	3,363	673
Bihar and Orissa	4,488	585	145
Central Provinces	5,934	1,420	183
Assam	4,161	670	304

35 In all provinces the provision of secondary schools for girls is very limited and in most provinces the secondary schools are confined to a few large towns It is significant that in the nine provinces district boards maintain only two high schools (both in Madras) and only 34 middle schools, of which 26 are in the United Provinces

In *Madras*, out of 99 secondary schools over 80 are located in municipalities and of the total number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools only 13 per cent are reading in rural areas Only one district board maintains high schools for girls and there are no middle schools for girls maintained by district boards in the whole province "It is clear that district boards as a whole have shown little inclination to take part in the development of secondary education for girls "* The great majority of privately managed secondary schools are also located in municipalities At the end of the quinquennium as many as five districts in the Presidency were without a secondary school of any kind either in urban or rural areas In *Bombay*, no secondary schools for girls are maintained by district boards and as elsewhere the great majority of the 69 schools for Indian girls are located in municipalities In *Bengal*, there are only 19 high schools for Indian girls and in *West Bengal*, out of nine high schools, eight are in Calcutta City In the *United Provinces*, there are only eleven high schools for Indian girls, all in the larger towns The province has a large number of middle schools but the majority of them are lower middle schools "Most of the middle schools in urban areas are well established, but this cannot be said of such schools in rural areas in a number of which a great rise or a great decline may occur in a single year "† In the *Punjab*, there are 13 high schools for Indian girls all situated in the larger municipalities and of the 88 middle schools only four are maintained by district boards

All the high schools in *Bihar*, the *Central Provinces*, and *Assam*, are located in municipalities

Thus it is clear from the above facts that while secondary education for girls has, in several provinces, been successfully developed in urban areas, the opportunities for higher education afforded to the girls in the smaller towns and rural areas are extremely limited

36 **Primary Schools** —The following Table shows the number of girls' primary schools and their enrolment in 1922 and 1927

* A Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, 1928, page 48

† United Provinces Q R , page 87.

TABLE LXXX

Girls' primary schools and their enrolment

Province.	Institutions		Pupils	
	1922	1927	1922	1927
Madras	2,610	3,309	174,124	220,062
Bombay	1,452	1,535	105,405	133,518
Bengal	10,162	11,612	270,843	341,969
United Provinces	1,344	1,580	45,203	54,513
Punjab	1,048	1,232	47,633	61,480
Burma	679	606	27,950	31,171
Bihar and Orissa	2,508	2,790	58,522	66,009
Central Provinces	326	334	18,347	21,027
Assam	343	409	10,511	13,772
British India	22,635	26,682	767,014	966,214

37 While in urban areas primary education is extensive, in rural areas it is generally limited and inefficient In *Madras*, there are over 700 schools in municipalities and approximately 2,600 in rural areas But the schools in the municipalities contain one-third of the total number of girls in all primary schools In *Bengal*, the great majority of schools are in rural areas, but over 13,000 are single-teacher schools with only three standards in which little effective instruction can be expected Many of the rural schools are not in fact separate schools at all, but only classes in boys' schools opened by teachers who desire to earn small additional grants In *Bombay*, girls' education has spread only in small measure outside the towns Of the total of 1,535 primary schools only 674 are maintained by district boards and over 500 are maintained by municipalities In *Bihar*, as in Bengal, a large number of the rural primary schools are single-teacher three class schools and cannot be considered satisfactory

38 Tables have already been given in another chapter which indicate the large extent of wastage and stagnation among pupils in girls' schools Of every 100 pupils in Class I of girls' schools in 1922-23, only 30 were in Class II in 1923-24, only 16 in Class III in 1924-25, only 10 in Class IV in 1925-26 and only 6 in Class V in 1926-27 Over 372,000 of the 534,000 pupils in Class I in

1922-23 proceeded no further An even greater proportion of the pupils are in Class I in girls' schools than in boys' schools Nearly 7 out of 11 of all the pupils in every type and grade of recognised institution for girls and women were in Class I in 1926-27 Two-thirds of the pupils who attend girls' schools go to school only for a year and have no chance of becoming literate For each primary school for girls (including the primary departments of secondary schools) there were in 1926-27 only two pupils on the average in Class IV and little more than one in Class V

39 The wastage, immense in boys' schools, is still greater in girls' schools, and the girls' schools produce a much smaller proportion of literates The reasons for this appear to be the earlier withdrawal of girls from schools, the absence of women teachers and the greater inefficiency of many of the schools Assuming (what may be held to be approximately true) that only pupils who reach Class IV attain even temporary literacy, we find that less than sixty thousand pupils become literate in girls' schools every year But, if all the girls actually in Class I in 1927 could be kept at school for five years, and the same continuity were maintained in all the classes, there would be one-third of the total female school-going population at school at the end of that period

40 The following Table shows the number of pupils in Class IV of girls' schools in the nine larger provinces —

TABLE LXXXI

Number of pupils in Class IV of girls' schools by provinces

Madras	19,097
Bombay	16,139
Bengal	4,326
United Provinces	3,656
Punjab	6,130
Burma	3,097
Bihar and Orissa	1,250
Central Provinces	2,505
Assam	1,020
British India	58,054

Of these pupils, Madras and Bombay alone contribute three-fifths The wastage is greatest in those provinces where the majority of the primary schools are schools with only three classes In Bengal, the 14,600 primary schools for girls yield only 4,300 pupils in Class IV, *i e*, it takes three schools to produce one potential girl literate

a year In 1927, there were in the Chittagong division of Bengal 84,065 girls in Class I, but only 4,042 in classes II, III and IV together

41 **Co-education** —The following Table shows the percentage of girls under instruction who are reading in boys' schools —

TABLE LXXXII

Percentage of girls under instruction reading in boys' schools by provinces

Madras	55 5
Bombay	34 8
Bengal	14 4
United Provinces	33 3
Punjab	8 1
Burma	78 5
Bihar and Orissa	39 6
Central Provinces	35 7
Assam	52 4

Co-education is extensive only in Burma, Madras and Assam In Bengal, which has the largest provision of girls' schools and in the United Provinces and Bihar, where co-education is confined to under 40 per cent. of the girls under instruction, the girls' schools are not only inadequately staffed but almost entirely ineffective in their results

42 In the absence of the requisite number of women teachers, the opening of large numbers of separate primary and lower primary schools for girls has not in most provinces materially advanced girls' education On the other hand, in spite of obvious difficulties connected with a system of co-education, co-education has done much to promote the growth of girls' education in the provinces in which it exists Opinion appears to be sharply divided as to the possibility or desirability of adopting or extending the system of co-education Even in Burma, where co-education exists much above the primary stage, there is a strong demand for more separate girls' schools In Madras, a recent conference of women officers agreed "that co-education was not objected to by the backward classes or by the educationally advanced, but that there was a strong feeling against it in the

middle classes and that, as it was amongst this class that most rapid progress could be made at present, co-education on any considerable scale could not be introduced effectively now" * In the Punjab, co-education has been experimented with on a very small scale, but progress has been slow In Bengal, it is difficult to judge whether co-education has not been popular or whether the opening of privately managed girls' schools, for reasons other than educational, has been responsible for the lack of girls in boys' schools In the United Provinces, girls are allowed to attend boys' schools up to the age of ten, but very few girls complete the primary course in boys' schools and co-education does not appear to be welcomed

43 In the provinces in which efforts have been made to popularise co-education the main difficulties have been that—

(i) there is a tendency in boys' schools for the girls, in the absence of women teachers, to be neglected and that even where girls attend boys' schools they leave much earlier in the primary stage than the girls who attend girls' schools, and

(ii) in large villages the accommodation in boys' schools is not large enough for the girls as well as the boys

On the other hand, one of the causes of the slow progress has been the fact that if separate provision is to be made for the great majority of girls of school-going age, the number of additional schools (approximately 160,000) and of women teachers required is so great that provincial Governments and local bodies have naturally hesitated to embark on a policy of making full provision by means of separate schools There have been recent proposals in Madras which provide a hopeful line of advance for the future, combining where possible an advance by co-education with an advance by increased provision of separate schools It has been suggested that "in villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants in which there will be less than 150 pupils of school-age (both sexes) the maintenance of two separate schools would be unsound from an economic point of view and that until further progress has been made in women's education the officers in the men's 'ranges' should be directed to try to develop mixed schools in such places" *

44 These suggestions, if applied to other provinces in India, would both considerably reduce the extent of the provision required to bring all girls of school-going age under instruction and at the same time largely increase the total enrolment of girls We have had little evidence that co-education in the primary stage is objected

* A Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, 1928, pages 22 and 23

to in rural areas and therefore the remedy suggested in Madras would appear to be practicable

45 The system of separate schools in Bengal appears to us not to be justified either by the special needs of girls or by its results The system is apparently the result neither of a desire to provide girls with education, nor of a special aversion to co-education, but of the uncontrolled expansion of ineffective "venture" schools

Since the majority of the separate girls' schools in Bengal are staffed by men teachers, many of whom also teach in the local boys' schools, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the girls, at least under the age of nine, might, with advantage, be reading in the boys' schools The girls' schools are evidently in no sense efficient institutions The following passage from the special Memorandum on the Growth of Education in Bengal, illustrates this point —

> "The great majority of the primary schools are aided, either by local bodies or by Government, or by both They have been thus described by the Inspectresses 'These schools receive Rs 1-8-0 to Rs 3-0-0 per month, and with this grant the Pundit cannot be a whole-time one, as in most cases he has to teach in a boys' school and devotes two to three hours a day only to teaching girls Naturally all the consideration is reserved for the boys The schools are held in huts or cow-sheds, or in dilapidated houses There is often no apparatus and no furniture, and children sit on mats and write with chalk on the floor Even when they come to school the children hardly learn anything In many cases even after one year they have not learnt to read or write the alphabet' Such was the condition of the great majority of primary girls' schools before the Reforms and there has been little improvement since then, though it has been possible to add a rupee or two per month to the pay of the teachers In general, we have a gloomy picture of the girls' primary schools served by men teachers whose main work is looking after boys' schools Children remain for one or perhaps two years, and receive little, if any, benefit from their schooling "*

46 The condition of the primary girls' schools in Bihar does not appear to be much better than in Bengal, and one of our witnesses gave the following picture of girls' schools in the United Provinces :—

> "Most of the schools which are being maintained by the Government for the primary education of girls are

*Memorandum page 29

working in a wretched condition in every respect. They are held in small hired and insanitary houses, where girls do not get sufficient space for their outdoor games or recreations. The mistresses employed are the most inferior type of literate human beings They themselves have seldom read beyond the fourth standard of primary education, and are very low paid Many of the schools for girls in this province are not schools of any real educational value The schools managed by the municipal boards and district boards are no better than the Government model schools "*

We realise that the girls' primary schools in other provinces are not all of this kind, but unless the separate primary girls' schools in the provinces where they are inefficient, can be re-modelled, co-educational schools, in spite of the obvious difficulties, are preferable

47 **Compulsion for Girls** —Owing to social and other causes, the compulsion of girls to attend school presents very special difficulties and in consequence only in five provinces have girls been included in the scope of compulsory legislation In Madras, compulsion for non-Muhammadan girls has been introduced in two municipalities and in all the wards of the Madras Corporation A Madras official report states that " no special difficulties have been experienced in introducing compulsion for non-Muslim girls in any of the places in which it has been tried, although one of the municipalities in which it has been introduced (Erode) is in one of the most backward districts in girls' education in the Presidency "† In Bombay compulsion for non-Muhammadan girls has been introduced in two wards of the Bombay Municipality In the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Assam, although the Acts provide for the compulsion of girls, compulsion has not as yet been applied

48 The spread of literacy amongst men only will do little to secure the atmosphere of an educated and enlightened home, and the existing disparity between the social outlook of the man and the woman will only be increased National and social reasons all point to the necessity of adopting, wherever possible, the same policy for boys and for girls, and we are satisfied that in many places public opinion strongly favours the application of compulsion to girls

49 We shall discuss later the rapid awakening among the women themselves and the manifest desire that in respect of curriculum and the age of attendance, etc , the schemes for the

* Sheikh Abdullah, M L C

†Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, page 20

development of girls' education should be not less far-reaching than those for boys, although there may be differences of detail We recognise that owing to social and economic conditions compulsion for girls must necessarily be of slower growth than compulsion for boys, but we are of opinion that in every general scheme of compulsion, in areas which are favourable for the development of girls' education, an attempt should be made to include at any rate the majority of the girls of school-going age in the scheme

VII —Curriculum and training

50 In recent years repeated demands have been made by representative women's associations for the differentiation of the curriculum in girls' schools from that adopted in boys' schools The first All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform, held at Poona in 1927, recommended that "alternative courses should be established to suit the needs of girls who do not intend to take up college education—these to include the subjects of domestic science, fine arts, handicrafts and industries" Similar recommendations were made by the Bengal Women's Educational Conference held in the same year, and a recent conference of women educational officers in Madras has also suggested the inclusion in the final school examination course of such subjects as drawing, handicrafts, music, etc

51 Our evidence further shows that the special needs of girls in this regard have fortunately been receiving consideration, and the Education Departments of most provinces have already recognised the need for variations in the curricula to suit girls

In primary schools separate optionals for girls are common In *Madras* lessons in health and household management are provided as optionals in the rules framed under the Elementary Education Act In *Bombay*, domestic economy, needle work, nature-study and handwork are optional subjects In *Bengal*, hygiene is compulsory, and either needle-work or drill is also compulsory Cooking is also taught in many schools, and progress has been made in drawing, painting and clay modelling In *Burma*, needle-work is compulsory, and the progress in needle-work in vernacular schools has been described as phenomenal In *Bihar*, spinning is compulsory and nature-study is optional In the *Central Provinces*, the curriculum includes sewing and physical exercise

In secondary schools alternative courses are less common but in *Madras* domestic science is being taught in a number of schools, and recently there have been proposals for the inclusion in the secondary school-leaving certificate course of such subjects as drawing, music, needle-work, and domestic science In *Bombay*, domestic science is accepted as an equivalent for science for

matriculation purposes Nature-study is also taken in several anglo-vernacular schools In *Bengal*, vocal and instrumental music has been introduced into all the schools in West Bengal, and many schools are teaching drawing and embroidery The syllabuses in most schools also include hygiene, first-aid, and home-nursing and in some domestic science In the *Punjab*, training classes in domestic science are held every year by the Inspectress of Domestic Economy and consequently domestic science is being taught in many of the schools in the province and in Delhi In *Burma*, in anglo-vernacular high schools, domestic economy, needle-work, dress-making and hygiene are main optionals, and drawing, singing, the theory of music, cookery and weaving are additional optionals Courses in domestic science have been provided in some of the training colleges and these might be multiplied

Little has so far been done to provide alternative courses in the universities, but there are courses in domestic economy, hygiene and child study in the Indian Women's University at Poona, and in the Madras University music is now an optional subject for women at the intermediate examination.

52 In the formulation of a curriculum for girls' schools there are in most countries two aims manifest which are not always reconciled The first is the aim of making the education of girls equal to that of boys in every respect, so that they may be able to attain all the educational distinctions open to men In many of the secondary schools for girls in India this aim is predominant The second is the aim of fitting girls for the home and married life, while giving them at the same time a liberal education Both aims must be kept in mind There is a necessity that India should produce women who, after receiving the highest academic education, are capable of inspecting and advising in the planning of women's education of all grades On the other hand, the fact must be kept in view that the overwhelming majority of Indian girls are destined for married life

53 We think that alternative courses should be provided at the high school stage, and possibly at the intermediate stage, and at a later stage in special institutions preparing for a diploma rather than a degree The universities and boards of secondary and intermediate education might well go half-way to meet the girls' schools in this matter by recognising the value of the courses in domestic science, hygiene, music, etc , for girls It is, in any case, most desirable that the high school courses for girls should not be entirely dominated by university requirements devised for boys

54 To moral instruction we attach the greatest importance, though the difficulties of giving such instruction, apart from religious

teaching, are well recognised But the lives and examples of great men and women of all countries might well form the basis of such instruction, which could probably be given to all without offending the religious convictions of any of the pupils

55 **Physical Training and Medical Inspection.**—Our evidence shows that in recent years there has been much improvement in the methods of physical culture adopted in girls' schools

In *Madras*, the Government have appointed a woman specialist in physical instruction who supervises physical training in the schools and conducts physical training classes for teachers Regular medical inspection is provided in Government institutions In *Bombay*, physical training is compulsory in all training institutions, and in Bombay city the Young Women's Christian Association maintains a physical training class for women teachers In *Bengal*, the Young Women's Christian Association conducts a physical training class for teachers and "regular medical examination is now carried on in most schools in West Bengal, East Bengal lags sadly behind in this matter "* In *Burma*, physical training is compulsory in English high schools for girls In *Bihar*, there is a permanent lady school medical officer who conducts medical inspection in schools throughout the province In the *Central Provinces*, medical inspection is regularly carried out in the anglo-vernacular schools and in the training schools

56 **Girl Guides** —The development of physical training amongst girls has also been assisted by the Girl Guide movement which, though still in its infancy, appears to have become well-established in India In Madras and Bombay there are large numbers of Girl Guide Companies and in British India as a whole there are nearly 600 Companies and Flocks with an enrolment of over 10,000 Guides and Blue Birds It is not only for the purpose of physical training that the Girl Guide movement is useful It has a good effect in developing character and in promoting a cheerful and happy spirit in the schools

57 **School Buildings and Playgrounds.**—The health and physical well-being of the pupils largely depends on the provision of suitable accommodation and playing fields Our evidence shows that,

* Bengal Q. R , page 66.

though there are a number of large schools with suitable accommodation and adequate playgrounds, the condition of the schools generally is not satisfactory

> In *Madras*, while the accommodation of aided schools is in most cases good, "the accommodation of the majority of the Government schools has remained inadequate and unsuitable" *
>
> In *Bengal*, most of the secondary schools are concentrated in Calcutta and in consequence, "girls requiring higher education are obliged to come to Calcutta To draw girls away from the healthy open-air life of the country to the conditions of crowded city-life in Calcutta is an act of very doubtful wisdom Most of the Calcutta schools have very small play-grounds and can offer few facilities for exercise or games" † In the *United Provinces* "the condition of board and aided [vernacular] school buildings is unsatisfactory; few of these schools have buildings of their own; most are badly housed, insanitary, lacking proper ventilation and lighting, and poorly equipped, little progress has been made, lack of funds being usually alleged as the reason" ‡

VIII —The Teachers

58 One of the greatest needs of the Indian educational system is the need for more trained women teachers They are needed not only for the teaching of girls but for that of little boys, since by general consent they are the best teachers for the primary classes in all schools But in this chapter we confine ourselves to the need of women teachers for girls' schools, primary and secondary In all the early stages women teachers are to be preferred to men This is not merely because women understand their own sex better and can deal with girls with more knowledge, tact and patience, but because a woman can enter into more intimate and informal relations with her pupils and can advise, stimulate and inspire in many ways not open to men But there is another reason for the preference of women teachers In the social conditions of India to-day a school staffed by women will inspire greater confidence in the parents and make them more ready to send their children to such schools If only as a measure of propaganda, the employment of more women teachers in girls' schools is desirable

* Madras Q R , page 112.

† Bengal Q R., page 65.

‡ United Provinces Q R., page 84.

59 The following Table gives the total number of trained women teachers for all schools in the several provinces —

TABLE LXXXIII

Number of women teachers and percentage of trained teachers in all schools by provinces

Province	Total.	Trained.	Percentage of trained teachers
Madras	10,472	7,297	69 7
Bombay	4,495	2,353	52 3
Bengal	5,263	1,019	19 4
United Provinces	3,621	939	25 9
Punjab	3,124	1,293	41 4
Bihar and Orissa	1,487	486	32 7
Burma	3,388	2,482	73 3
Central Provinces	1,198	606	50 6
Assam	624	205	32 9
British India	34,811	17,230	49 5

Thus, Madras has more women teachers than Bombay and Bengal together, and Burma and Madras alone, of all the provinces, have a high proportion of trained teachers The low percentages in Bengal and the United Provinces are disturbing

60 The following Table shows the number of successful women candidates at training examinations in 1927

TABLE LXXXIV

Number of successful women candidates at training examinations in 1927

Province	Degree	Secondary Training	Vernacular Certificate.
Madras	36	142	787
Bombay	7		277
Bengal	15	5	84
United Provinces		27	81
Punjab	4	11	153
Burma		2	48
Bihar and Orissa			73
Central Provinces	1		65
Assam		..	23

Madras is the only province which produces a fair number of trained women teachers of all grades Bengal, the United Provinces and

Bihar obviously do not as yet produce more than a small fraction of the trained teachers required for their schools and population

61 **Teachers in Secondary Schools**—The provision of teachers in high and middle schools varies greatly from province to province In *Madras*, where the position is generally satisfactory, there are forty-three middle schools and fifty-six high schools (including European schools) The total number of women teachers in middle schools is 456, of whom 389 are trained, and in high schools there are 867 women teachers of whom as many as 690 are trained In one district, Malabar, "the supply of secondary grade women teachers is in excess of the demand",* but in other provinces there is a different story In *Bombay*, there are only 228 women teachers for the 48 high schools and only 82 for the 42 middle schools In *Bengal*, the great majority of the 574 high school women teachers are in European schools In the *Central Provinces*, the seven high schools together have only 27 women teachers In the *United Provinces*, and in the *Punjab*, conditions are somewhat better

62 The training colleges train teachers for secondary schools The following Table shows the number of training colleges for women in the provinces in 1927 and their enrolment —

Province	Colleges	Students.
Madras ..	2	41
Bengal	3	41
United Provinces	1	6
Punjab	1	27
British India .	7	115

Five of these colleges are missionary institutions The provision of only seven training colleges for all India, of which five are located in two provinces, is most inadequate Even more depressing is the enrolment of only 115 students in these colleges The numbers include 74 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 24 Indian Christians, but only 15 Hindus and two Muhammadans In addition, 19 women students were receiving training in men's colleges If training colleges for women were opened in centres where conditions are favourable, such as Poona and Rangoon, more Indian women would be forthcoming for higher training It is to be noted, first that the training colleges are intended mainly for graduates, and that the number of Hindu and Muhammadan women graduates is still very small, and secondly, that these colleges are mostly mission institutions in which it is difficult to provide facilities for *purdah* students

*Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, page 58.

63 **Teachers in Primary Schools.**—The following Table shows the number of women teachers working in primary schools in the several provinces —

TABLE LXXXV

Number of women teachers and of trained teachers in primary schools by provinces

Province	Number of primary schools for girls	Number of women teachers	Percentage of trained women teachers	Average number of women teachers per primary school for girls
Madras	3 399	9,149	67	2 6
Bombay	1 535	4,174	54	2 7
Bengal	14,612	4,291	11	0 2
United Provinces	1,580	2,097	13	1 3
Punjab	1,232	1,987	31	1 6
Burma	606	1,336	65	2 2
Bihar and Orissa	2 790	1,241	24	0 4
Central Provinces	334	880	47	2 6
Assam	409	422	23	1 0
British India	26,682	26,156	45	0 9

In some provinces the average number of women teachers per girls' school is in reality much lower than these figures suggest In *Madras*, for example, of the 9,149 women teachers only 6,372 are in girls' schools, and in *Bombay* of the 4,174 women teachers only 3,031 are in girls' schools The remainder in each province teach in boys' primary schools The dearth of women teachers is serious in the *United Provinces* and *Assam*, and even more so in *Bengal* and *Bihar*

64 The following Table shows the number of training schools for women and their enrolment in 1917 and 1927 —

TABLE LXXXVI

Number of training schools for women and enrolment in 1917 and 1927

Province	Training Schools		Pupils	
	1917	1927.	1917.	1927.
Madras	25	37	832	1,831
Bombay	17	18	713	666
Bengal	10	10	141	201
United Provinces	24	24	208	316
Punjab	13	12	224	445
Burma	4	29	176	599
Bihar and Orissa	8	11	137	180
Central Provinces	3	6	107	228
Assam	2	2	27	36
British India	111	166	2,651	4 664

In 1927, 54 of the training schools were managed by Government and the majority of the remainder were under mission management

65 One of the main causes of the shortage of women teachers in primary schools is the lack of adequate training facilities In *Madras*, "there is a very big demand for Hindu and Muhammadan women teachers throughout the Presidency and the supply is comparatively poor This is largely due, especially in the case of Hindus, to the lack of training facilities and to the small number of girls' schools where the pupils can read for a sufficient length of time to qualify for admission to training schools In places where facilities exist there is a comparatively good supply of such teachers"* In the *United Provinces*, where there are ten training classes preparing for the vernacular teacher's certificate, "there is reported to be a great demand for admission to these classes and each year applicants have to be refused on account of want of accommodation" † It is hardly surprising that the supply of women teachers is most inadequate in *Bengal*, *Bihar* and *Assam*, for in Bengal, there are over 14,000 primary girls' schools (mostly three-class schools) but only ten training classes, in *Bihar*, there are nearly three thousand girls' primary schools (mostly three-class schools) but only eleven training classes, in *Assam*, there are over four hundred girls' primary schools but only two training classes

The figures for Bombay, Bengal and Assam are particularly disappointing In ten years these provinces seem to have made little effort to improve the facilities for training women teachers for primary schools or to attract larger numbers into the institutions Of the total of 4,664 pupils under training only 1,763 were Hindus or Buddhists, as against 2,261 Indian Christians The enrolment of Muhammadans was 303 and that of Sikhs was 40

Other provinces notably Madras, Burma and the Punjab, are making a serious effort to tackle this problem (though women's education in the Punjab is very backward) It was a severe blow to the North West Frontier Province when, in 1922, under the influence of the Inchcape Committee, a training class with pupils carefully chosen from the villages was closed before the training had been completed and without notice Some of the existing institutions are doing excellent work, but their number should be largely increased

66 Another serious difficulty is that many women teachers, after being brought up and trained in the towns, cannot reasonably be expected to live alone in villages far from relations and friends While the Indian Christian women mainly work in the towns and in Government and mission schools, they cannot to any large extent work in the village schools where almost all the children belong to a different faith The Muhammadan schools especially require Muhammadan women as teachers

*Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency, page 66

†United Provinces Q R, page 117

The experience of Burma and Madras has shown that this difficulty can be overcome very largely if training schools, with hostels, are located in the rural centres, and if girls from the villages are trained there and sent back to work in their own or neighbouring villages Such training schools as have been started in rural centres have been well attended, and this indicates that the shortage of teachers is not due to the disinclination of girls to come forward for training It is unfortunate, therefore, that the large majority of these training schools are located in the towns Even in *Madras*, out of thirty-five training schools for Indian women, thirty-two are located in municipalities, and only twenty-three out of 130 taluq board areas have training schools situated at local centres In *Bengal*, out of ten training schools seven are in Calcutta, one is at Dacca, one at Krishnagar and one at Kalimpong With such a distribution of schools, little progress in the training of village women as teachers can be expected In *Bombay*, a better distribution of the fifteen institutions for the training of women teachers in primary schools would improve the present situation since "there is no dearth of fully qualified teachers either for primary or secondary schools in the large centres The difficulty is to find women who are willing to serve in the villages "*

67 In order to secure a more adequate provision of women teachers for rural areas the Government of Madras has under consideration a scheme which deserves the attention of other provinces The scheme consists of a ten-year programme of expansion, and includes the opening of a hundred middle schools for girls, eighty rural training classes for Hindu women, ten rural training classes for Muhammadan women and the provision of stipends If these proposals are adopted, there is a great promise for the future, particularly in a province which already has by far the largest number of trained women teachers in its primary girls' schools

We have dealt with the need for more rural training schools, but there is also an urgent need for the provision of more rural middle vernacular schools, in order to improve the quality and number of the candidates for training This is an important feature of the Madras scheme

68 One of the main difficulties which prevents women teachers from accepting employment in rural areas is the inadequacy of the pay offered An independent woman teacher needs satisfactory accommodation and has necessarily to provide for a companion or servant In this connexion, the Committee appointed in the Central Provinces to enquire into the state of girls' education recommended that "it is essential that the pay of women teachers should be sufficient to render them independent " The Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency has also emphasised this point It states that "while women will come forward

*Bombay Q. R , page 155

as teachers fairly readily, given satisfactory conditions of service, they will not and cannot do so for the very low wages often paid to men teachers. It is well-known that, in addition to the salaries received by men teachers, they are also given gifts in the form of food or clothing by the parents of their pupils and can earn additional money by giving private coaching Women teachers on the other hand cannot accept gifts, nor, because of their home duties, have they time to undertake outside coaching" * In most provinces the scales of pay and the rates of grant-in-aid for women teachers in primary schools are the same as for men teachers and we have already pointed out how entirely inadequate is the average remuneration of a teacher in a primary school †

IX —Signs of progress

69 Our survey of the figures relating to girls' education has been somewhat depressing But there are many features in the general picture to give encouragement for the future

There are many admirable institutions for the education of girls scattered over British India, and there are signs of a general awakening to which the women themselves are contributing in no small measure Almost everywhere there are hopeful signs and good promise for future progress There has been a keen desire for education and knowledge on the part of the women, even in the provinces where *purdah* is most strong As a result, women belonging to all communities are realising not only the immediate need for the eradication of well-recognised social evils but also the urgent desirability of educating their daughters, not necessarily for employment or high scholarship, but at least to be more efficient as wives and educated mothers in their own homes

The attitude of the public and parents in regard to early marriage has considerably changed in recent years and the age of marriage is gradually rising Moreover, legislation with a view to raise the age of marriage is under consideration

70 The *Madras* report on the development of women's education states "There are, moreover, definite indications that there exists a real demand for further educational facilities for girls, and that if these are provided girls will come forward readily for education" ‡

An inspector of schools in the Bombay Presidency writes—

> "It is gratifying to note that the time when the education of girls had not only no supporters but open enemies has gone by The stages of ridicule, apathy, indifference and criticism have been passed and the welcome stage of positive approval and encouragement is reached The need of education for girls along with

Loc cit, page 35
† See Chapter IV, para 55
‡ *Loc cit*, page 1

boys is now recognised generally It looks as if the day when the education of girls will be regarded as a *sine qua non* of national advancement is not far distant "*

In *Sind*, where *purdah* has in the past been most striking the Inspector of Schools states that "the *purdah* is day by day decreasing and there is a general desire to educate girls, specially in cities and big towns "†

Even in the *Punjab*, where the difficulties are perhaps the greatest, the last Quinquennial Review states that "very considerable advance has been made in the region of secondary schools and especially in those located in urban areas There can be little doubt but that this form of education now makes a strong appeal to the middle class population in the towns "‡

71 The Christian missionaries have done splendid pioneer work in the cause of women's education and are carrying it on at every stage, from the primary schools to medical schools and arts colleges Much educative propaganda work is also being done in the sphere of women's education by a number of private associations and Indian missions, and other social and reform organisations are to an increasing extent supplementing the work of Government and the Christian missions

We have already had occasion to refer to the work of the Indian Women's University at Poona and its associated institutions Excellent work is being done by such organisations as the Seva Sadan at Bombay, Poona and Madras—an association controlling large numbers of night schools, adult classes, home classes and domestic arts classes for women In Bengal, the Punjab and other provinces, there are many private and unrecognised associations conducting adult classes for women, maintaining widows' homes and doing social work amongst the poorer classes of the community

72 Of late women's activities have spread into the educational social, economical and political spheres of life, and as a result of this there have been started in many provinces associations, clubs, homes for adult women's education, social service centres, health and welfare associations and rescue homes, mainly through the initiative and organising efforts of public-spirited women

All these activities have necessarily infused a new spirit among educated women and have widened their outlook The new movement has received fresh impetus from the All-India Conferences of Women, which have now become annual functions and

*Bombay Q R page 137
†Bombay Q R., page 138
‡Punjab Q R., page 94

which are attended by large numbers of women delegates from every province The delegates on their return to their provinces are keeping alive the interest of women in their educational needs by the holding of meetings and by explaining the aims and objects of the All-India Conferences A result, therefore, of these conferences has been that an extensive propaganda on educational and social reform matters has been carried on in most provinces by local organisations

There are indications that the Indian women's demands and aspirations to participate in the wider social and public activities of the country are everywhere receiving consideration and the rare opportunities which have been given so far to women on legislative bodies and local bodies have been used already to assist in the removal of social evils

73 Deliberate and unremitting efforts to overcome the obstacles, the formulation of policy with careful adjustment of means to ends, and a generous provision of money, institutions and personnel to make up for lost time—these are clearly indicated as the main tasks of the immediate future Nor can success be attained without the closer association and co-operation of women themselves which are now available in growing measure The whole case for women's education rests on the claim that education is not the privilege of one sex, but equally the right of both, and that neither one sex nor the other can advance by itself without a strain on the social and national system and injury to itself The time has come to redress the balance, and we believe that the difficulties in the way of women's education are beginning to lose their force and the opportunity has arrived for a great new advance We are definitely of opinion that, in the interest of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion

CHAPTER VIII.

Educational institutions provided for or by special communities. The need for unity

1 It is a part of our task to review the growth of education among those communities which are regarded as educationally backward, and also to deal with schools which have been provided either for or by certain communities

2 From the time of the Hunter Commission in 1882 until the present day, Government has deliberately and successfully pursued the policy of encouraging private effort in education This private effort has been of various kinds, the effort of various communities, of missionary and other philanthropic associations, and of individuals The educational institutions which have resulted from these efforts have necessarily been shaped by the special convictions of those to whom they owe their origin, and by the needs of the communities for which they are primarily intended Many of these institutions have been pioneers in the way of educational progress They have rendered and are rendering indispensable services to India

3 We shall deal in subsequent chapters with the needs of Muhammadans, the depressed classes, Anglo-Indians and certain other communities, and with the special institutions which have been provided to meet their needs

4 In dealing with this subject we are confronted immediately with the question whether the present educational system of India is such as to promote a spirit of unity and co-operation among the several communities or the reverse

5 We shall see that under the influences to which we have referred, segregate schools have sprung up in India in large numbers It will be admitted that any educational system which trains large numbers of pupils of the several communities in segregate schools and colleges, often from the lowest to the highest stage of education, may accentuate racial and communal differences and prove an obstacle to the attainment of unity, and many will feel that the aim should be rather to break down barriers which now exist between classes and communities by bringing together as many pupils as possible into common or 'mixed' schools and colleges, in which they can live and work side by side These 'mixed' schools might be either publicly managed institutions or privately managed institutions in which the management and staff are representative of the different interests connected with them We do not suggest that it is possible at the present time or, for

reasons that we shall give, desirable that the whole educational system of India should be framed on these lines We only wish to emphasise the view that the future educational policy should be directed towards unity and not towards separation

6 **Differences in language.**—We are also aware of the fact that the large number of vernaculars and languages in India are a barrier to unity, but feel at the same time that many of the difficulties are not insuperable We have had very little time in which to consider this difficult and complex problem, and are therefore extremely reluctant to offer opinions on the subject It has been impressed upon us, however, by many witnesses and by our reading of the Reviews and Memoranda that the Indian child, particularly the Muhammadan, is gravely handicapped in his general studies by the practice of learning an excessively large number of languages concurrently, and we are not convinced that this practice is essential Nor does it seem to us advisable to establish separate institutions merely in order to ensure that the teaching of certain languages or vernaculars shall be made available For example, it has been represented to us that inadequate provision is made for the teaching of Hindi in the ordinary schools in the Punjab, and this has been suggested as a reason for establishing separate schools with Hindi teaching in that province, but if the necessity exists it seems to us that provision for such teaching could be made in the ordinary schools

The difficult question of the medium of instruction in schools is one which we have also been unable to discuss It may be pointed out, however, that it is often possible to introduce bilingual teaching into a single school instead of instituting two schools with different media of instruction In the United Provinces, a departmental rule has recently been passed whereby admission to a normal school or training class depends on a candidate passing an examination in the second form of a vernacular, that is to say, if his mother tongue is Urdu, he must pass in Hindi, and *vice versa* This practice might be considered in other provinces

7 **Growing spirit of comradeship** —There are hopeful signs that the present day activities of school and college life are tending to mitigate the evils of disunion and to bring the children of all communities into close and co-operative contact The rapid development in recent years of games and sports has brought large numbers of pupils from all communities into close association and friendly rivalry and has fostered a new spirit of co-operation and understanding The establishment of University Training Corps in many of the universities has evolved a spirit of co-operation and comradeship between the communities by the members being united in a special form of training for the common good

8 **Boy Scouts.**—Even more inspiring is the rapid and successful development of the Boy Scout movement in India, particularly in Bombay and the Punjab We are aware that this movement has done noble work in many lands, but we doubt whether it has done greater service in any country than in India In the first place, it has given to thousands of Indian boys a means of healthy exercise and of active enjoyment In the second place, it has instilled in many a desire for service and for helping the poor and the distressed And, in the third place, it has already been successful in transcending the narrow limits of race and community and in bringing the boys into an active partnership not only with each other, but also with boys of other lands If, however, this admirable spirit is to continue and prosper, the movement must retain its fundamental ideal of unity We therefore deplore the tendency in some provinces to disrupt the movement into separate and sectional scout associations

CHAPTER IX.

Education of Muhammadans.

I —Quantitative growth

1 **General Statistics** —The following Tables summarise the general position of Muhammadan education —

TABLE LXXXVII

Muhammadan pupils in different institutions by provinces.

Province and Muhammadan population (in millions)	In universities and arts colleges *		In secondary and primary schools		Total in all recognised institutions	
	1917	1927	1917	1927	1917	1927
Madras (2 8)	182	397	136,690	241,044	137,732	242,080
Bombay (4 0)	157	618	128,943	185,142	125,048	189,182
Bengal (25 0)	1,630	3,419	787,811	1,029,662	817,070	1,109,237
United Provinces (0 5)	1,439	1,127	116,471	206,964	119,975	212 760
Punjab (11 5)	891	1,854	150,280	404,873	159,791	516,631
Burma (0 5)	48	75	16,399	21,764	16,531	21,874
Bihar and Orissa (3 7)	470	467	67,337	131,506	98,671	135,695
Central Provinces (0 5)	62	90	30,691	45,760	30 847	26,237
Assam (2 2)	80	197	50,958	60,836	51,7 8	68,489
British India (0 4)	5,212	8,458	1,502,142	2,437,373	1,509,523	2,529,336

TABLE LXXXVIII

Muhammadan pupils and population with comparative percentages.

Province	1917			1927				
	Muhammadan pupils (all institutions recognised and unrecognised)	Percentage		Muhammadan pupils (all institutions recognised and unrecognised)	Percentage			
		Muhammadan population of total population	Muhammadan pupils of Muhammadan population		Muhammadan population of total population	Muhammadan pupils of Muhammadan population	Muhammadan pupils of total pupils	
Madras	184,155	0 6	0 7	11 1	278,568	6 7	9 8	11 0
Bombay	149,672	20 4	3 7	19 3	209,913	19 6	5 5	18 1
Bengal	864,259	52 7	3 6	49 0	1,140,140	54 0	4 5	51 3
United Provinces	102,677	14 1	2 4	18 3	244,697	14 3	3 8	18 1
Punjab	196,921	54 3	1 8	40 8	590,884	55 3	5 2	50 0
Burma	24,890	3 5	5 9	4 2	24,776	3 8	5 0	3 8
Bihar and Orissa	110,155	10 6	3 0	18 0	144,911	10 9	3 9	18 1
Central Provinces	92,890	4 1	5*7	9 2	37,920	4 1	0 7	0 5
Assam	55,635	28 1	2 9	23 8	74,831	20 0	3 4	25 8
British India	1,824,364	23 5	3 2	23 2	2,821,109	24 1	4 7	25 5

* Students in professional colleges are not included

2 **Increased Enrolment.**—It is clear from these Tables that the increase of enrolment of Muhammadans between 1917 and 1927 was both rapid and general In ten years, the number of pupils increased by 62 5 per cent or almost a million The ratio of pupils to the total Muhammadan population increased from 3 2 to 4 7 per cent while the ratio of pupils of all races and creeds to the total population only increased from 3 1 to 4 3 per cent The proportion of Muhammadans to the total population is only a little over 24 per cent , but the ratio of the increase of Muhammadan pupils to the total increase was over 31 per cent Thus, Muhammadan pupils are attending school in proportionately higher numbers than the pupils of all communities taken together In fact, even in 1917, the ratio of Muhammadan pupils to the total number of pupils was 23 2 per cent, and thus almost equal to the ratio of the Muhammadan population to the total population, 23 5 per cent In 1927, the first ratio was 25 3 per cent and was slightly higher than the second, 24 1 per cent In the matter of enrolment, therefore, Muhammadans are no longer behind the rest of the country and are steadily forging ahead

3 **Stages of instruction.**—The great majority of Muhammadan pupils, however, are in the primary stage There were, in 1927, 2,304,085 Muhammadan pupils at the primary stage or 24 9 per cent of the total number of pupils But even at the primary stage the position is unsatisfactory Wastage among Muhammadans is appreciably greater than the general wastage in schools In Class I, Muhammadans form 28 4 per cent of the total, in Class V they form only 17 per cent of the total

In 1927, there were in the middle stage 101,336 pupils, or only 16 per cent of the total number in that stage In the high stage the number was only 31,952 or 13 5 per cent. of the total In colleges and universities it was only 10,787 or less than 13 per cent of the total But it is to be pointed out that during the last five years there was an increase of 3,861 or about 56 per cent at the collegiate stage

While, therefore, at the bottom of the educational ladder, Muhammadans are to be found in numbers more than proportionate to their population, they quickly lose their advantage, and at every higher stage more and more drop out

4 **Girls.**—The tendency to drop out as the higher stages are approached is even more marked in the education of Muhammadan girls In 1917, there were 234,328 girls in recognised institutions, and in 1922, 298,423 For 1927, the exact figure for girls alone is not available, but there were 312,704 Muhammadan pupils in

institutions for girls, or 28 per cent of the whole But of these, 251,531 were in Class I, in which they formed 35 5 per cent of the total In Class V, on the other hand, Muhammadan pupils in girls' schools numbered only 5 8 per cent of the total Although there were 310,100 in the primary stage, there were only 1,669 in the middle stage and only 143 in the high stage In the primary stage, Muhammadan girls constituted 29 1 per cent , but in the middle only 5 1 per cent , and in the high stage only 2 1 per cent of the total number of pupils Conservatism and purdah, the obstacles in the way of Indian women generally, act with special force in the case of Muhammadans, and mainly account for the fact that the numbers in the higher stages are extremely small But the numbers are gradually increasing In 1917, there were only six Muhammadan girls in arts colleges, in 1922 there were 25 , and in 1927, in women's colleges alone, there were 30 The first Muhammadan lady undergraduate in Madras appeared in 1923, and in 1927 there were four In Bengal, the number of undergraduates increased in ten years from two to seven

5 **The Provinces.**—The ratio of Muhammadan pupils to the total is less than the ratio of the Muhammadan population to the total only in four provinces, Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab and Assam, in Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces, it is much higher—in the last, more than twice as great In Burma, the two ratios are the same The ratio for Bombay is influenced by Sind where Muhammadans are in a majority but are very backward In every province where Muhammadans are in a minority, except in Assam, they are ahead of the average in enrolment but in Bengal and the Punjab where they constitute a majority, they are slightly below the average

In *Madras*, Muhammadans form 6 7 per cent of the population, but 11 0 per cent of the pupils In 1927 the total number of Muhammadan pupils was 242,680, an increase of 56 per cent in the quinquennium The numbers in arts colleges rose from 141 to 351, but still formed only 3 per cent of the total The proportion in the secondary stage was a little over 5 per cent

In *Bombay Presidency proper* (exclusive of Sind which is dealt with at the end of the chapter), Muhammadans form 8 6 per cent of the population and the Muhammadan pupils form 13 8 per cent of the total The community is far in advance of the 'intermediate' and 'backward' Hindus 16 8 per cent of the 'advanced' Hindus are at school, 5 0 per cent of the 'intermediate', 3 3 of the 'backward', and 10 2 of the

Muhammadans This is a higher figure than for any other province But, as elsewhere, in secondary and higher education, Muhammadans are still a long way behind the 'advanced' Hindus

The total number of Muhammadan students in colleges in the Bombay Presidency as a whole rose from 215 in 1917 to 450 in 1927, and the pupils in secondary schools from 4,992 to 8,191, of whom 232 were girls

In *Bengal*, Muhammadans form 54 per cent of the population and 51 3 per cent of the total number of pupils Here again also, the increase has been mainly in the primary stage where, in five years, the numbers have grown by over 200,000 While Muhammadans form 51 4 per cent of the pupils in the primary stage, in the middle stage they form only 19 3 per cent and in the high stage only 15 5 per cent There has, however, been marked growth in the number of Muhammadans attending arts and professional colleges as the following Table shows —

—	In universities and arts colleges	Percentage ratio of Muhammadan students to all students	In professional colleges	Percentage ratio of Muhammadan students to all students
1917	1,639	8 9	303	7 34
1922	2,175	12 8	440	9 6
1927	3,419	14 2	886	14 06

If the number of Muhammadan students in colleges were proportionate to the Muhammadan population the percentage would be four times as great The girls are much more backward than the boys in the higher stages Of the 226,031 Muhammadan girls in schools and colleges, only a minute fraction are reading above the primary stage and more than nine out of ten are in Class I

In the *United Provinces*, Muhammadans form 14 3 per cent of the population, but 18 1 per cent of the pupils The educational position of the community is, however, even more remarkable than this figure suggests,

for the boys are even more prominent in the higher than the lower stages

	Percentage ratio of Muhammadan pupils to total—	
	In institutions for males	In institutions for females
Primary stage	16 0	16 2
Middle stage	15 5	5 7
High stage	17 9	3 8
Collegiate stage	24 1	8 6

The high proportion in the higher stages in the United Provinces is, no doubt due largely to the Muslim University of Aligarh In the higher education of women, the Muhammadans in the province are little more advanced than elsewhere

The *Punjab* has the highest ratio of Muhammadans to the population, 55 3 per cent , of the pupils, they form 50 per cent The percentages fall in the higher stages, but not to the same extent as in Bengal In the primary stage, in boys' institutions they form 52 6 per cent , in the middle stage 39 4, in the high stage 29 9, in arts colleges 24 7 But there are two noteworthy features in the Punjab , first, the remarkable general growth in Muhammadan education during the last decade, and, secondly, the comparatively advanced position of girls' education among Muhammadans as compared with that of other provinces

The total number of Muhammadan pupils in recognised institutions in 1917 was only 159,791, in 1922 it had increased to 226,161 , but in the next five years, it rose to 516,831 If progress can be maintained at this rate and pupils retained at school, the community in the Punjab will soon have no reason to complain of its educational backwardness

In institutions for girls Muhammadans form about 26 per cent of the pupils, and, while the majority are in the primary stage and especially in Class I, in the middle stage they still number about 17 per cent , in the high stage 12 per cent , and in colleges more than

15 per cent of the total But it has to be remembered that if the Muhammadan girls form a considerable proportion of the total, women's education generally is in a very backward condition among all communities in the province, and the total number of girls under instruction is very small

In *Burma*, Muhammadans are proportionately less numerous than in any other province and form only 3 8 per cent of the population The percentage of Muhammadan pupils is also 3 8 It is disappointing, however, that the numbers increased so little between 1917 and 1927, but this was mainly due to the Khilafat movement in 1920-21 which withdrew about 5,000 children from schools The number in arts colleges increased from 30 in 1922 to 75 in 1927, and in secondary schools from 6,304 to 8,838 in the same period The number of girls at school has grown considerably, from 3,999 in 1917 to 5,831 in 1927

In *Bihar*, Muhammadans form 10 9 per cent of the population and 13 1 per cent of the pupils But, in the higher stages, while the numbers are steadily increasing, the proportion to the total number of pupils is as steadily falling

Year	Number of Muhdn pupils in college stage	Percentage ratio of Muhdn pupils to total number of pupils in college stage	Number of Muhdn pupils in high stage	Percentage ratio of Muhdn pupils to total number of pupils in high stage	Number of Muhdn pupils in middle stage	Percentage ratio of Muhdn pupils to total number of pupils in middle stage
1921-22	464	18 8	1,835	12 6	1,283	8 1
1926-27	663	14 8	2,562	11 9	2,242	7 3

It will be seen that in the college and high stages the other classes of the population are gradually catching up the Muhammadans, but that the latter still stand above the average for the population as a whole

Muhammadan girls under instruction are mainly confined to the lowest primary classes In Class I, they form 28 per cent of the whole, a remarkably high figure, almost three times as high as the population percentage In Class III, they still form about 20 per cent , but in Class IV there are only 42

Muhammadan girls, 3 4 per cent of the whole. In the higher stages they scarcely appear at all

In the *Central Provinces*, there are comparatively few Muhammadans, only a little over half a million, of whom almost half are in Berar In the province as a whole, they form only 4 1 per cent of the population, but in education they are exceptionally advanced, having 9 5 per cent of the total number of pupils Nor are these confined to the lower stages Even in the high stage, the Muhammadans in institutions for males form 8 6 per cent of the total But the education of Muhammadan girls practically ceases with the lowest class, to which they contribute one pupil in seven There has, in fact, been a serious decrease in the number of girls at school in recent years, from 4,765 in 1922 to 3,113 in 1927

In *Assam*, Muhammadans form 29 per cent of the population and 25 9 per cent of the pupils The number of pupils fell from 51,718 in 1917 to 43,034 in 1922, but rose again to 63,483 in 1927 The proportion in the secondary stage, however, is still comparatively small In the middle stage, the Muhammadan pupils form 12 6 per cent , and in the high stage 13 2 per cent of the total The great majority of girls are, as elsewhere, in Class I In the middle stage, there are less than 50 and in the high stage fewer still

II —Means of encouragement

6 The position of the Muhammadan community in India is peculiar in many respects and some conspicuous features in the existing system of Indian education are due either to the community's insistence on certain principles or to attempts on the part of Governments to give it special help

The community is still educationally backward, though less than formerly, and though for a considerable time past Governments have generally recognised the desirability of finding remedies for its backwardness, in the public interest It is a minority community in most of the provinces but in the social polity of India it is undoubtedly the most important minority It has insisted on religious instruction, given by Muhammadans, as an integral element in school education for Muhammadan pupils, and has attached great importance to Arabic and Persian as classical languages of Islamic religion and culture, and to Urdu as a linguistic bond of union among Muhammadans throughout India And it is on the whole

a poor community, consisting largely of cultivators and petty tradesmen

These circumstances account for the fact that at the present day—

(*a*) provision for the education of many Muhammadans is made in segregate institutions,

(*b*) special assistance is given to Muhammadan pupils by way of stipends, scholarships and fee remissions

(*c*) special inspecting agencies for Muhammadan educational institutions have been established in a number of provinces, and

(*d*) reservations of different kinds are made either to secure the admission of Muhammadans to the ordinary educational institutions or to secure the presence of an adequate number of Muhammadans on their teaching staffs

7 Although large numbers of Muhammadan pupils, especially in the Punjab, receive their education in the ordinary institutions—primary schools, secondary schools and colleges—there are in almost every province a large number of recognised segregate institutions which are intended to meet Muhammadan requirements In 1927, in Bengal, out of 1,109,237 Muhammadan pupils over 663,000 were in segregate institutions In Bombay Presidency (excluding Sind) 85,001 out of 120,912 Muhammadan pupils in primary schools were in segregate institutions In the United Provinces, out of the 192,889 Muhammadan boys in primary schools 92,629 were in segregate institutions In Bihar, out of a total of 135,695 Muhammadan pupils in all institutions, 86,384 were reading in segregate primary schools

Two classes of these segregate institutions may be distinguished —the 'separate' institutions in which the courses are the same as in the ordinary schools, and the 'special' institutions in which the courses differ considerably from those of the ordinary schools and include teaching in Islamic religion and culture

8 **'Separate' Institutions.**—The 'separate' institutions include Islamic colleges, which prepare for the ordinary examinations of a university, and Islamic secondary schools which prepare boys for the matriculation They include also the Islamia primary schools in the United Provinces, and primary schools in Madras, Bombay, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces These separate institutions are generally staffed and maintained by members of the Muhammadan community, but in some cases they are maintained by Government and local bodies In Bombay Presidency proper, these primary schools are of two kinds, the Urdu-Vernacular schools, in which Urdu is used as the medium of instruction in all subjects, with the local vernacular, in addition, as an optional

subject, and the Vernacular-Urdu schools, in which all instruction is given in the local vernacular, with Urdu as a compulsory extra language In urban areas, nearly all the pupils attend the former type of school, but in rural areas 21,048 attend the former type and 15,574 the latter type of school There is no religious teaching in these schools In Madras, the separate primary schools follow the ordinary primary school course and more than half the number of the schools are managed by local bodies, the remainder being privately managed institutions

9 **'Special' Institutions.**—The institutions which we classify as 'special' include Islamia intermediate colleges in Bengal, the high and junior madrasahs, which are mostly in Bengal, maktabs, mulla schools in Sind, and Koran schools

The *Islamia intermediate colleges* in Bengal are "institutions that aim at the same standard as the other intermediate colleges and lead the way to Islamic studies in Dacca University The colleges at Dacca and Chittagong are Government institutions, and that at Serajgunj, which acquired this status in 1923, is an aided institution" * The course includes English and the vernacular, and also Islamic studies In 1926 there were 119 students in these classes

In recent years, attempts have been made to assimilate the courses of *madrasahs* to those of the ordinary schools In Bengal, "the high madrasahs are practically high schools on an Islamic basis, combining religious and secular education Of the total number of seventeen, three are managed by Government, ten are aided and the rest are unaided They are all under the control of the Dacca Secondary [and Intermediate] Board which is endeavouring to bring them 'within the pale of the general educational scheme'"*

In Bengal, "*the junior madrasahs* correspond to the middle English schools, but the course is heavier The pupils learn four languages, English, Bengali, Arabic and Urdu" * Owing to the heaviness of the course, Class VI of a junior madrasah corresponds only to Class V of a middle English school, and thus a whole year is lost by the pupils

In Bengal, the madrasahs are increasing in popularity During the last quinquennium, the number of these institutions increased from 337 to 538, and the number of pupils from 25,036 to 50,999

The *maktabs*, again, are found mostly in Bengal, but also exist in fairly large numbers in Bihar and the United Provinces In Bengal, "a revised curriculum was introduced in 1925, which brought the maktabs into line with the ordinary primary schools The chief difference is that books by Muslim authors are generally

* Bengal Q R, pages 73 and 74

used as text-books and instruction is given in the reading of the Koran and in Islamic ritual The fact that both secular and religious subjects have to be taught makes it desirable to have two teachers Many maktabs, however, have only one" * In Bengal, one of the chief features of the last quinquennium was the spread of maktabs In 1921-22, there were 13,048 recognised maktabs with 368,645 pupils, in 1926-27, there were 19,919 recognised maktabs with 610,296 pupils

10 The following Table shows, as far as it has been possible to ascertain, the total number of these 'separate' and 'special' institutions —

TABLE LXXXIX

'Separate' and 'Special' institutions for Muhammadans

Province	'Separate' institutions			'Special' institutions			Other schools	Total recognised institutions	Unrecognised schools	Grand Total
	Colleges.	Secondary schools or Madrasahs	Primary schools or Islamia schools	Madrasahs	Maktabs	Mulla or Koran schools				
Madras .	2	17	3,166		67		12	3,264	783	4,047
Bombay	..	13	2,061			827	39	2,940	808	3,748
Bengal .	4†	25		538	19,919		6	20,492	804	21,296
United Provinces	2	18	693		2,294	.	..	3,007	Not known	3,007
Punjab‡	1	65	308		..	.	.	374	Do	374
Burma	..	7	178			.	4	189	89	278
Bihar and Orissa		..		.	3,477		14	3,491	280	3,771
Central Provinces	..	37	242				1	280	23	303
Assam				10	102			112	205	317
Total	9	182	6,648	548	25,859	827	76	34,149	2,992	37,141

Thus, the 'separate' institutions are to be found mainly in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces, and the 'special' institutions mainly in Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces, especially in Bengal It will be noticed that there are no 'special' institutions in the Punjab The institutions shown in the Table in column 8 as other schools are mainly training classes for teachers

* Bengal Q R, page 75
† Includes three 'Special' institutions
‡ Figures only approximate

11 **Scholarships and reservation of school places.**—The education of Muhammadans has been encouraged by the institution of free scholarships, fee-remissions and scholarships reserved for Muhammadan pupils, and by the allotment of a definite proportion of seats where there is pressure for admission, especially in professional colleges A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate what has been done

In *Madras*, all poor Muhammadan pupils are admitted at half fees into all recognised institutions and large numbers of special scholarships are reserved for Muhammadans In the *Central Provinces*, apart from the general scholarships open to all classes, 19 scholarships of Rs 3 per mensem in middle schools and 16 of Rs 5 in high schools are reserved for Muhammadans In addition, a considerable proportion of scholars living away from their parents or guardians receive an extra allowance, 90 stipends of the value of Rs 15 or Rs 16 per mensem are tenable in the Urdu Normal School for men at Amraoti In *Bengal*, in many public institutions, 15 per cent of the Muhammadan pupils may be granted free studentships Between 1922 and 1927, 30 scholarships of Rs 5, and numerous others of higher value, were created for Muhammadans 30 per cent of the places in the Chittagong College are reserved for Muhammadan students and 25 per cent in the Bengal Engineering College and in the Ahsanullah School of Engineering, Dacca In *Bombay* proper, in Government professional colleges, 10 per cent of the seats are reserved for Muhammadans, in Government secondary schools, 15 per cent In arts colleges, 42 scholarships of the value of Rs 20 are awarded to them, and for professional and technical education, there are 30 scholarships from Rs 25 to 40 Up to 22½ per cent of the Muhammadan pupils in Government secondary schools may be exempted from fees and 637 scholarships of Rs 6—10 have been sanctioned for them in the Presidency proper Muhammadan girls are admitted without the payment of fees into all district, local board and municipal primary schools, and a number of special scholarships are reserved for Muhammadan girls reading in primary schools In *Sind*, Government provide 12 scholarships of Rs 30 each for Muhammadans in arts colleges, and 30 per cent of the students are admitted free in Government high schools For secondary pupils, 700 scholarships varying from Rs 10—Rs 12-8-0 are provided

All this is in addition to the stipends and scholarships which are supplied from the income of private endowments, some of which are very extensive like the Mohsin Fund in Bengal and the Kazi Shahbuddin Scholarship Fund in Bombay

12 **Inspectors and teachers.**—In most provinces Government have appointed special inspectors for the supervision and stimulation of Muhammadan education In Madras, there is a special assistant to the District Educational Officer for Malabar who has charge of Mappilla (Moplah) education, and there are a number of special deputy inspectors for Muhammadan schools In Sind, a special staff is maintained for the mulla schools, consisting of three deputy inspectors and nine assistants In Bengal, the five assistant inspectors for Muhammadan education and the inspecting maulvis are under the immediate control of the Assistant Director for Muhammadan education, who advises the Director on all matters connected with the education of Muhammadans In the United Provinces, there is an inspector of Muhammadan schools and in every division except one there is a deputy inspector who specially concerns himself with Islamia and Muhammadan primary schools In Burma, there are deputy inspectors for Muhammadan schools In Bihar, there are a superintendent of Islamic studies, five special inspecting officers and 21 inspecting maulvis In Assam, there is a special deputy inspector for Muhammadan education All these are concerned wholly or primarily with the supervision of the institutions intended for Muhammadan pupils

13 In some provinces, in order to secure a fair balance between the different communities, Government have laid down general rules prescribing a minimum proportion of Government educational (and other) posts to be held by Muhammadans Thus, in the Central Provinces, five posts of deputy inspector and two of assistant inspector are held by Muhammadans In Bihar, there are six Muhammadan district inspectors, six deputy inspectors and 36 sub-inspectors In the United Provinces, 25 per cent. of the deputy inspectors and 33 per cent of the sub-deputy inspectors are Muhammadans, although the community form only 14 3 per cent of the population In the Provincial Educational Service of this province, they number 15 per cent , in the Subordinate Service 15 per cent In Bengal, in Government secondary schools, the Muhammadan teachers compose 31 8 per cent of the total and Muhammadans form 47 3 per cent of the inspecting staff In Madras, three of the district educational officers and 23 of the deputy and junior deputy inspectors are Muhammadans There are also 161 Muhammadans on the staffs of Government colleges, secondary schools and training schools

14 In Bombay and Sind, out of 34,611 teachers in primary schools 3,733 are Muhammadans, and in Sind alone, out of 3,062

teachers in publicly managed primary schools 1,284 are Muhammadans In the United Provinces, one out of every five teachers in primary schools is a Muhammadan and one out of six in middle schools In local board primary and Islamia schools Muhammadan teachers form 13 9 of the total In the Central Provinces, 1,541 teachers are Muhammadans out of a total of 15,421 teachers of all kinds

15 **The present position and future progress.**—In the past, the establishment of 'separate' and 'special' educational institutions for Muhammadans has undoubtedly brought Muhammadan pupils under instruction more extensively and more quickly than would have been the case had the only facilities been those afforded by the undenominational and publicly managed schools But the official reports and the evidence which we have received indicate very clearly that, generally speaking, these institutions have done but little to raise the general standard of education among Muhammadans to that of other communities, that a great many of them are accentuating the educational backwardness of the community, that their enrolment is increasing year by year and that a continuance of these institutions on a large scale would be prejudicial both to the interests of Muhammadans themselves and to the public interest

16 Even as regards the 'separate' institutions for higher education which offer inducements to young Muhammadans to pursue the ordinary courses, it is doubtful whether the advantages to the community are not outweighed by the disadvantages. We are aware that several of the Islamia colleges and schools are large, well-equipped and efficient institutions, and there is no reason why they should not continue alongside similar institutions maintained by other communities But where the Muhammadan community is small, it is impossible to provide, except at disproportionate cost, a separate institution which will be as efficient as the ordinary college or school A small institution can rarely have as efficient a staff as a large one and the pupils lose much of the stimulus of healthy competition and much of the training in character which is derived from well-organised corporate life We cannot believe, for example, that the students (less than ten in number in 1927) reading in the degree classes of the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, are enjoying the same opportunities for all-round education as are enjoyed by the Muhammadan students (over a hundred) reading in the degree classes of the other colleges in the Presidency town

17 It is, however, in the 'special' schools that the Muhammadan pupils suffer most from the relative inefficiency of the segregate institutions—madrasahs, maktabs and Koran schools—which they attend It has been noted that the special institutions are to be found mainly in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar,

and it is to these provinces, in particular, that our observations in regard to them apply The problems of Sind and Malabar are treated separately below

In Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar, the evidence as to the inefficiency of the 'special' institutions is almost unanimous An inspector of schools in *Bengal* has stated that—

> "The maktabs and madrasahs are extremely inefficient. This is not prejudiced criticism but is the unanimous verdict of the Muhammadan inspectors .It is extremely unlikely that the products of such institutions will ever be able to compete successfully with those who have been taught in ordinary high schools This is the private opinion also of many Muhammadan gentlemen "*

In the majority of cases a maktab has only three classes and is a single-teacher school

In the *United Provinces*, it was the unanimous opinion of the Committee appointed to report on the state of primary education of boys of the Muhammadan community and of educationally backward communities that "in quality the education given in special Muhammadan institutions is inferior to that given in ordinary mixed schools maintained by municipal and district boards The gravity of the situation was realised when it was understood that 33 per cent of the Muhammadan boys receiving primary education are enrolled in Islamia schools and maktabs The Committee attributes the failure of maktabs and Islamia schools to the following causes —

(*a*) the unwillingness of boards in straitened circumstances to expend money from their own funds on inferior denominational schools,

(*b*) lack of healthy competition incidental to their sheltered condition,

(*c*) inferior tuition, and

(*d*) insufficient and over-lenient inspection "†

In Bihar, our evidence shows that the maktabs are very similar to those in Bengal and that they are in most cases inefficient three-class single-teacher schools

The Resolution of the Government of Bihar on the Quinquennial Review states that

> "A decidedly disquieting feature in the sphere of primary education is the steadily increasing demand for the multiplication of institutions on a communal basis The report draws attention to the astonishing increase

* Bengal Q R, page 73

† The Wetherill Report, page 3

in the number of Sanskrit patshalas and of maktabs during the last five years, accompanied during 1926-27 by an actual decrease in the total number of primary schools Sanskrit pathshalas came into existence in 1915, by 1921-22 their number had risen to 319, and last year it stood at 761 Besides pathshalas and maktabs there is a demand for separate primary schools for girls and a necessity, in some places, for a separate school for children of the depressed classes This demand for separate institutions, if it continues, can only render the problem of overcoming illiteracy in this province (already one of sufficient magnitude) absolutely impossible of solution Government cannot but regard with serious misgiving the present tendency in this direction and earnestly hope that the local bodies will realize the danger before it is too late ''*

18 We have already referred to the greater wastage among Muhammadan pupils than among pupils of other communities The figures are striking The following Table shows the number of Muhammadan and Hindu pupils in boys' schools in the first primary class, at the end of the primary stage, and at the end of the middle stage in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar —

TABLE XC

Muhammadan and Hindu pupils in Classes I, V and VII in Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar

Province	Muhammadan pupils in Class I	Hindu pupils in Class I	Muhammadan pupils in Class V	Hindu pupils in Class V	Muhammadan pupils in Class VII	Hindu pupils in Class VII.
Bengal	560,783	409,228	12,529	43,166	7,666	34,617
United Provinces	100,144	465,492	10,687	57,773	3,594	20,369
Bihar and Orissa	70,795	435,685	1,993	27,438	973	11,201

19 The Muhammadan pupil of a 'special' school is very seriously handicapped in climbing the educational ladder not only by the inefficiency of most of these institutions, but also by the fact that, having begun his education in an institution which stands outside the ordinary organisation of schools, it is not easy for him to take his place later in one of the ordinary schools or colleges This is particularly the case in Bengal where the vast majority of the special schools exist If a pupil attending such a school is fortunate, he may ultimately attend a high madrasah and then one of

* Bihar Q R, Government Resolution, page 9

the Islamia intermediate colleges Very few Muhammadan pupils, however, reach the intermediate stage and in 1927 only 881 Muhammadan students were reading in the first year intermediate class

Even a Muhammadan boy who takes the ordinary primary course, whether in an ordinary or in a 'separate' school, is also handicapped in climbing the educational ladder, though to a lesser extent In the first place, we have received evidence that in Bihar and the United Provinces local bodies are reluctant to open 'separate' Islamia Urdu teaching primary schools, even in places where there is a large Muhammadan population, and that many of the schools which have been opened are starved through insufficiency of financial support by the local bodies In the second place, even if a Muhammadan boy succeeds in completing the ordinary primary course there is insufficient opportunity for him to go further The majority of the Muhammadan population is scattered in villages far from secondary schools The handicap due to the paucity or absence of secondary schools, particularly of middle vernacular schools, in the villages, is most serious in Bengal and Bihar where the primary schools generally have only three classes In Bengal, the number of middle vernacular schools for boys is rapidly diminishing and is now only seventy-four, or almost the same as in the North-West Frontier Province In a previous chapter we have urged the necessity of increasing the number of classes in vernacular schools and have emphasised the importance of the middle vernacular school as a means of providing a form of education which is suitable to rural areas If such facilities were made more readily available in the provinces we have referred to, then many more Muhammadan pupils would have the opportunity of receiving a higher form of primary education and one better adapted to their needs

20 Many Muhammadan pupils are also handicapped if they desire to pass from a primary to an anglo-vernacular school In general, Muhammadans are poor and live in rural areas They find it difficult and beyond their means to send their sons to distant schools In most provinces, even when the anglo-vernacular schools are within easy distance they are usually managed by members of other communities, and Muhammadans consider them uncongenial We have already alluded to the urgent necessity of a more equitable distribution of schools of this type so that greater facilities may be available, and we have suggested that this object might best be achieved by the establishment of publicly managed schools If the latter suggestion is not feasible, it might then be possible to adjust the grant-in-aid rules in such a way that special assistance will be given to privately managed high and middle schools in backward areas Increased hostel provision is also required By such means, encouragement would be given to a large number of Muhammadans to attend high schools and colleges

21 For the reasons given, we have no doubt whatever that, both in the public interest and in the interest of the Muhammadan community, the sooner the segregate Muhammadan institutions, and particularly those which we have classed as special institutions, are replaced by a system under which Muhammadan pupils in all stages will take their place in ordinary schools, side by side with pupils of other communities, the better Such a change can obviously take place only gradually Accommodation must first be provided in other institutions for their pupils, and some segregate institutions will no doubt make good their claim to continuance

Representations made to us on behalf of the Muhammadan community show that they are prepared to fall in with a policy which will bring Muhammadan pupils into the ordinary publicly managed schools if they can obtain certain safeguards of which the principal are —

(*a*) Provision of opportunities for Muhammadan religious instruction,

(*b*) (in the United Provinces and Bihar) adequate provision for the teaching of Urdu,*

(*c*) adequate provision for the training and employment of a suitable proportion of Muhammadan teachers,

(*d*) proportionate reservation of places for Muhammadan pupils in institutions where accommodation is insufficient to admit all applicants, and

(*e*) adequate representation on local educational authorities or other bodies managing schools

22 **Religious Instruction** —The attitude of State neutrality in India towards different religions originally took the form of the exclusion of religious teaching from publicly managed schools In 1911, however, the Government of India invited local Governments to set up committees to consider the provision for moral and religious instruction Considerable variety of opinion was expressed regarding the possibility and efficiency of religious instruction The provinces in which advance was most confidently recommended were Bengal and Bihar Even prior to 1917, relaxation of the general rule had been permitted, for example, in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma, in favour of children whose parents desired religious instruction for them The conditions usually imposed were that it should be given by persons other than the ordinary staff outside ordinary school hours, and not at the cost of public funds In the Central Provinces and Assam, there was also some relaxation, mainly in favour of Muhammadans, though little advantage was taken of it

23. In 1921, the Government of India addressed all local Governments on the question of the introduction of religious instruction

*See Chapter VIII, para 6

into Government schools and stated that they were " of the opinion that the embargo which hitherto has been placed on the introduction of religious instruction in publicly managed schools may be removed " Certain conditions to be attached to its introduction were indicated, *viz* , no preference to any particular religion to the exclusion of others, no charge on public funds and the instruction to be given outside regular school hours

In Madras, orders were accordingly issued permitting religious instruction in publicly managed schools on those conditions The Punjab Code permitted it in Government or local board schools on those conditions and at the express wish of the parents In Bihar, the provision of religious instruction for at least two hours a week in school hours was made obligatory in Government and non-denominational schools At present, all pupils are required to attend the religious instruction provided for their particular community unless their parents desire them to be exempted it is to be given ordinarily by members of the school staff selected by the headmaster and also, if necessary, by honorary teachers approved by the headmaster In the Central Provinces, religious instruction was permitted in Government and local board schools out of school hours, and at the expense of the communities which provided it In Assam, special facilities for religious instruction for Muhammadan pupils were provided in all publicly managed schools

24 The way is therefore open for provincial Governments who are embarrassed in their endeavour to secure the better education of Muhammadans by their demand for combined religious and secular instruction in the same institution to consider whether they should not try to meet that demand in the ordinary school It is obvious, as we point out elsewhere, that if the system of primary education is to be rescued from the waste and ineffectiveness which afflict it, a great effort has to be made and the system of primary schools has to be reorganised For that purpose, it is of the first importance to decide whether the relatively ineffective and expensive plan of maintaining segregate schools for Muhammadans shall be continued, or whether arrangements for providing them with opportunities for religious instruction and observance in the ordinary schools shall be adopted There can be no doubt that if, in provinces where the educational progress of the Muhammadan community is impeded by religious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as will induce that community to send its children to ordinary schools, the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency, and much will be done to free the community from the handicap and reproach of educational backwardness

We are fully aware that such arrangements are not easy to make and that in other countries they have given rise to much

controversy. The arrangements would probably vary with the circumstances of each province, and it is not for us to suggest any particular plan But, in our opinion, the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans

Arrangements of the kind that we suggest would obviously be facilitated by an increase in the number of qualified Muhammadan teachers in the ordinary schools and by the provision of separate hostels in schools and colleges where boarding accommodation is provided

25 We need hardly say that where the path of educational progress of other communities is blocked in a similar degree by difficulties connected with religious instruction, arrangements similar to those made for Muhammadans should be conceded to those communities

26 **The Training of Teachers.**—It is in respect of publicly managed primary and middle schools that special arrangements for training Muhammadan teachers are, perhaps, most required In staffing these schools and in selecting candidates for training, account must be taken not only of the knowledge and intellectual attainments of the candidates but also of their personal suitability for the work of the schools As in rural schools, it is very important that the teachers should be well-acquainted with the conditions of rural life and be sympathetically disposed towards it, so in mixed schools which include groups of pupils of very different and sometimes antagonistic social and religious traditions it is very important that the staff should be so composed as to command the confidence of all groups and to assure them of fair play and sympathy

If it is true not only that the road to a more efficient educational system lies through co-education of different communities in the same schools, but also that a solvent of their antagonisms is to be found in such co-education, then it is worth while taking a great deal of trouble to adjust the training of teachers and the staffing of schools so as to secure all the advantages of that co-education

It is therefore necessary, in our opinion, that for some time to come special arrangements should be made for bringing a considerable number of Muhammadans into the training institutions for teachers and that the control of these arrangements should be retained by the provincial Governments and not devolved on local bodies

In rural areas, almost all the recruits to training institutions are selected from among those who are already serving on a temporary or probationary footing in the primary schools, and it may therefore be necessary that power should also be retained to secure that a suitable proportion of Muhammadans shall be

recruited at the earlier stage, as temporary or probationary teachers in the primary schools

27 **Reservations*** —We fully appreciate the force of the general arguments against a policy of "reservations" or "preferences" in favour of particular communities or groups or sections of a people, and we admit that special reservations or preferences inside a public system of education of a democratic community require justification 'A fair field and no favour' is a maxim which commands ready assent Yet in India no one now disputes that if the 'depressed' and 'untouchable' classes are to be enabled to start fair, something special must be done for them, and to this extent they are treated as favoured communities Again, 'the most efficient system is the best' appears to be a self-evident truth But 'efficiency' is not an absolute but a relative term, it denotes the degree in which a machine, an institution or a system achieves its aim, and the degree in which the amount or value of the product corresponds to the amount of effort or money expended in producing it The efficiency of a single school may, perhaps, be judged by reference to a relatively restricted aim, but the efficiency of a public educational system must be judged by reference to a very broad aim In India, if anywhere, a description of that aim as nothing short of 'nation-building' will find ready acceptance

If, therefore, special arrangements inside the public system of education were made now, and possibly for some time to come, to enable the Muhammadan community to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves, but since in our belief they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Muhammadan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor chances afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy

28 We suggest, therefore, that provincial Governments should carefully consider the question of reservation of a suitable number of places for Muhammadans in those publicly managed institutions in which it is not possible at present to admit all applicants If and when they can be enlarged, to that extent the necessity for reservations will disappear

The particular form and degree of reservations made in favour of Muhammadans will differ in the different provinces and in some provinces they will no doubt be slight

We are of opinion that if a reconstruction of the educational system is carried out in certain provinces by a well-arranged and equitable distribution of schools and by a development of vernacular schools, the need for 'reservation' will be much less than would appear at present to be necessary But, in any case, during this period of reconstruction, and until Muhammadans have recovered lost ground, 'reservations' will probably be necessary in some provinces It is significant that in the Punjab, while the number of Muhammadan pupils rose from 159,791 in 1917 to 516,831 in 1927, it was not found necessary to have any 'reservations' in any school

The Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces, has suggested that a reduction in the number of special schools can be compensated for by an enlargement of the accommodation in ordinary schools

> "Many boards, alleging poverty for their refusal to meet increased demands from schools already established, yet hastened to aid by lavish grants the establishment of the new institutions The increase in the number of such special schools is, therefore, not a matter of unalloyed gratification, and a reduction in their number would not be deplored, provided that the reduction is compensated by increased enrolment in board's ordinary schools"*

29 We would again add, as we did when dealing with the question of religious instruction, that if in the case of other communities the same necessity is found to exist for making special arrangements, whether by way of reservation of places or otherwise, to secure or encourage their educational advance as has been found to exist in the case of Muhammadans, similar concessions should be made to those communities

30 Representations have been made to us by Muhammadan witnesses that the educational interests of their community have suffered from the inadequate representation of the community on local boards This is a matter which concerns wider interests than those of education and is one with which we do not feel ourselves competent to deal We have already suggested that Government should retain its control of the recruitment to training institutions, and this should ensure the presence of a reasonable proportion of Muhammadan teachers in publicly managed schools

* United Provinces Q R, page 96

Representations have also been made to us that Muhammadan interests have suffered from the inadequate representation of the community on university bodies, but this is a matter which we have been unable to investigate

31 We have felt it our duty to point out what we conceive to be the defects in the present organisation of Muhammadan education, and the causes which tend to obstruct the more rapid improvement in educational growth among the Muhammadan population Existing methods really intensify the separation of the communities Inasmuch as we are a Committee acting as an auxiliary to the Statutory Commission and the main Conference, and the task of the Commission is to report to Parliament with a view to the reconsideration of the Constitution of British India, it may be that the question of the best remedy to apply is, in strictness, beyond our terms of reference Yet the pointing out of the cause of an evil may in itself suggest lines of remedy We understand that the choice of remedy is not a matter on which the Statutory Commission is likely to pronounce, but rather a problem urgently calling for treatment in India itself, but we felt that we ought to point out methods which should be considered for the removal of the obstacles to Muhammadan education

We regret that, in the suggestions we have made in respect of the provision of religious instruction for Muhammadans and reservations in their favour, we have been unable to carry one of our colleagues with us He indeed dissents strongly from them, both on general grounds of principle, and on the administrative grounds that if the special arrangements suggested for Muhammadans are extended, as in equity they must be extended to other minority communities, much confusion will be introduced into the educational system and its better organisation will be impeded He has explained his own views in a special note appended to this Review, but we feel it right to refer to the matter here in order to make it more certain that his views will be considered at the same time as ours

32 **Girls' education** —It should be understood that what we have stated above in regard to segregate schools does not apply to the education of Muhammadan girls The education of Muhammadan girls and women, many of whom observe purdah, necessarily presents special difficulties calling for separate treatment and distinctive measures We have made many references to the education of Muhammadan girls in the chapter on Girls' and Women's Education

III —Muhammadan education in Bengal, Sind and Malabar

33 We have hitherto examined the condition of Muhammadan education in India and the provinces generally; but the position

of the Muhammadan communities in Bengal and Sind and of the Mappilla community in Malabar appears to us to require special consideration

34 **The Education of Muhammadans in Bengal.**—In Bengal, as we have previously stated, although the Muhammadans form 54 per cent of the total population, only 15 5 per cent of the pupils reading in the high stage of education are Muhammadans, and it is only in the lowest primary class that the ratio of Muhammadan boys to the total number of boys under instruction is larger than the ratio of the Muhammadan population to the total population of the province

35 The sudden supersession of Persian in 1837 as the Court language and the rapid development of English education in the earlier years of the 19th century resulted in a set-back to the education of Muhammadans in Bengal, while it provided new opportunities for members of other communities For many years Muhammadans were suspicious of purely secular and English education and, in consequence, were very slow to make use of the new system of higher education In order to encourage Muhammadans to abandon their conservative attitude, large numbers of special schools for Muhammadans were opened But unfortunately, as we have already shown, the great majority of these schools are inferior to the ordinary schools The latest Quinquennial Review shows how slow the progress of Muhammadan education has been even in recent years —

> 'There is little room for congratulation on the progress of the community in education The forces that retarded progress are the same as those exposed in the fifth Quinquennial Review [for the years 1912-17]—the apathy of the people, the dispersion of the Muhammadan population in villages often far from secondary schools, the scarcity of Muslim-managed high schools, the preference for special institutions like madrassahs and maktabs controlled by Muslims and teaching Islamic ritual and religion These causes are still operative and apparently in no diminishing measure Add to them the poverty of the mass of Muhammadans who are small farmers or peasants ''*

If progress is to be more rapid in the future, either more energetic measures must be adopted to encourage Muhammadan pupils to attend at all stages of instruction the more efficient ordinary institution, or the special institutions must be completely reorganised so as to bring their standards of instruction, equipment and staffing up to the level of the standards reached in other institutions For reasons already stated, we do not think that

* Bengal Q R , page 72

it would be ultimately advantageous to the Muhammadan community itself further to extend the system of segregate institutions; and we consider therefore that the greatest promise of future progress lies in the direction of enabling Muhammadan pupils in far larger numbers to ascend the common educational ladder, either by attending the existing schools and colleges of the province or new publicly managed or aided schools opened for their benefit We are aware that steps have already been taken to encourage Muhammadan pupils by the reservation of school places, by the award of stipends and scholarships, and by the provision of facilities for the training of Muhammadan teachers But we are convinced by the evidence placed before us that much more assistance in these directions is needed to place the Muhammadan community in Bengal in a sound educational position In particular, the number of stipends and scholarships is small compared with the total number of Muhammadan pupils, the majority of whom come from very poor families, and the proportion of Muhammadan teachers in the schools which give instruction above the primary stage is very low In the Dacca division of Bengal the percentage of Muhammadan teachers in publicly managed and privately managed schools is only 38 in middle schools and only 20 in high schools

36 It was suggested to us in evidence at Calcutta that, in view of the needs of the Muhammadan community, a sum of Rs 48 5 lakhs recurring for a period of ten years should be allotted immediately for stipends and scholarships Although a large addition to the number of scholarships is urgently needed, the mere allotment of a large sum of money for scholarships will not in itself solve the problem of Muhammadan education in Bengal A thorough reorganisation and redistribution of the schools and the provision of many more well-trained Muhammadan teachers must necessarily precede or at least accompany any attempt to encourage Muhammadan pupils to go on to the higher stages In the past, the scarcity of Muhammadan pupils reading in the high and collegiate stages has made it difficult to provide trained Muhammadans for the staffs of secondary schools and colleges, but the foundation of Dacca University in 1920 and the opening of the Islamia College in Calcutta in 1926 have considerably improved the outlook Muhammadans are now being trained for higher educational work in larger numbers and in 1927 out of the 136 students in training colleges 49 were Muhammadans

37 **Dacca University.**—Three of our members have visited Dacca University and have been impressed by the importance of the institution in relation to the development of Muhammadan education in Eastern Bengal

It was in answer to an address presented to Lord Hardinge by certain representatives of Eastern Bengal and Assam that the

Government of India issued its communiqué of 2 February, 1912, stating its decision to recommend the constitution of a university at Dacca The letter of the Government of India to the Government of Bengal of 4 April, 1912, drew attention to the particularly high level of intelligence of the Hindu middle-class population of East Bengal and to the desirability of making accessible to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal a university in which they could have a voice so that it would attract more Muhammadan students

38 The Calcutta University Commission stated that

> "The chief determining factor in the decision of the Government to make Dacca the seat of a university was, doubtless, the desire to accede to the demand for further facilities for higher education for the Muslim population who form the majority in Eastern Bengal It is one to which we naturally attach great weight; and we are entirely in sympathy with the wish of Government that the Dacca University should be used to the fullest possible extent as a means of encouraging the desire for higher education among the still backward Musalmans of this part of the province On the other hand, we desire emphatically to endorse the view that the University should be open to all, and that it should be in no sense a sectarian university, nor do we believe that in this we differ from the wish of the representatives of the Muslim community"*

The Commission accordingly proposed that at least half the elected graduates on the Court and half the members appointed by the Chancellor should be Muhammadans, and similarly that half the persons elected by the Court and half of those nominated by the Chancellor to the Executive Council should be Muhammadans It trusted also that the Committees of Selection would bear in mind "the necessity of appointing an adequate number of Musalmans to the teaching staff"

39 The Act creating the University of Dacca declares explicitly that "the University shall be open to all persons of either sex and of whatever race, creed or class, and it shall not be lawful for the University to adopt or impose on any person any test whatsoever of religious belief or profession in order to entitle him to be admitted thereto as a teacher or student, or to hold any office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to enjoy or exercise any privilege thereof, except where such test is specially prescribed by the Statutes", but it was also specially laid down in the first Statutes that fifteen of the thirty registered graduates elected to the Court

* Calcutta University Commission Report, Vol IV, page 133

should be Muhammadans and that the Chancellor in making his nominations should secure that, as far as possible, 50 per cent of the non-European members of the Court shall be Muhammadans Muhammadan representation is also provided for on the Executive Council and the Academic Council The Committees of Selection for professors and readers were also to include at least one Muhammadan and one Hindu

40 It has been represented to us that the number of Muhammadans on the teaching staff of the University is not large The numbers are as follows —*

Muhammadans	18
Others	80

41 **The Education of Muhammadans in Sind.**—Of the total population of about 3,280,000 (Census of 1921) in Sind, 73 4 per cent are Muhammadans Sind is mainly a rural area and half the people live in small villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants each In the purely rural areas, Muhammadans form almost 90 per cent of the total population In 1927 the percentage of Muhammadan pupils was 50 2 of the total number of pupils Of the total of 57,986 Muhammadans in recognised schools, no fewer than 54,496 were in primary schools, only 2,737 were in secondary schools, 70 in arts colleges and 16 in professional colleges There were 11,547 girls under instruction, most of whom were reading in mulla schools The literacy figure for Muhammadans is only 2 8 per cent as against 4 2 for all communities The ratio of pupils to population is only 2 4 per cent for Muhammadans, while the average for Sind is 3 8, and the percentage for advanced Hindus is 12 4 and for intermediate Hindus is 6 2

42 This marked backwardness is not due solely to the apathy of the community or the physical difficulties of providing schools for a scattered population The evidence placed before us seems to show that the past history of the education of Muhammadans in Sind has been unfortunate The measures which were taken to spread education were such as did not attract, or provide facilities for the majority of the Muhammadans Although the local cess and jagir cess were paid, in large part, by Muhammadan landholders, this money as well as the grants from provincial or imperial revenues, was spent mainly to provide schools in municipal areas, where Muhammadans are few Further, the disuse of the Persian language, the introduction and encouragement of the Hindu-Sindhi script and the unsuitability of

* See Handbook of Indian Universities for 1927

the Arabic-Sindhi text-books which were prescribed were serious handicaps to the Muhammadan community While, therefore, on the one hand, the location and curriculum of the new schools were such as failed to attract Muhammadan pupils, on the other hand, the indigenous schools, maktabs and mulla schools, did not receive sufficient attention The teachers in the new schools were, as a rule, Hindus from the Deccan, to whom the languages of the country were unfamiliar and who certainly could not be expected to encourage the attendance of Muhammadan pupils Few inspectors of schools were Muhammadans

43 In recent years, Government has tried to meet the peculiar requirements of the Muhammadan majority, and the immediate result of the work of a Committee which was appointed to review the whole question was the revival and reorganisation of the mulla schools, which have of late shown considerable improvement These schools are aided directly by Government who maintain a separate staff for their supervision and encouragement The Bombay Quinquennial Review states that after steps were taken to weed out the weaker schools, some of which were bogus in nature, and to concentrate on effecting improvement in the remainder, the mulla schools have justified themselves and must be accepted as able to hold their own with the district board schools *

Steps have recently been taken to increase the number of Muhammadan teachers In 1925 the number of candidates for admission to training institutions was fixed so as to include three Muhammadans to one Hindu, but even in 1927 only 41 9 per cent of the teachers in publicly managed primary schools were Muhammadans

44 But in spite of these improvements, the claims of Sind appear to have been overshadowed by those of more fortunate districts We have been told that some of the Sind local boards were among the first to impose an education cess under the Compulsory Education Act and yet the number of new schools sanctioned for Sind was much smaller than the number in other divisions, and that while in 1926-27, as much as Rs 1,17,000 was paid as grant towards the expansion of primary education to the District Board of Satara and Rs 37,700 to the Board of East Khandesh, all the district boards of Sind together obtained only Rs 18,000 Of the total expenditure from provincial revenues on primary education in 1925-26, Sind obtained only one-fourteenth, although the population is a sixth of the total for the Presidency

45 In secondary education, Muhammadans still remain very backward and in 1927 only 2,737 pupils, including 17 girls, were

* Bombay Q R, pages 180 181.

reading in secondary schools The reservation of school places, and the granting of scholarships and fee-remissions in large numbers have undoubtedly assisted the Muhammadan community But the difficulties of Muhammadan education in Sind would largely disappear if Government frankly realised the fact that the backward rural areas in that province require a specially liberal policy, and that they cannot be properly developed by a policy which only assists them to the same extent as other areas * If due attention were paid to the needs of Sind as a backward area, the increased provision of ordinary schools would probably go far to meet the needs of Muhammadans, who form 90 per cent of the rural population

46 **The Education of Mappillas** —In the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, the education of the children of the Mappilla community presents special difficulties The Mappilla population is a little over one million and the majority of the Mappillas, particularly those in South Malabar, are extremely poor and backward The ignorance and fanaticism of the majority of the community have been the main causes of the frequent troubles and outbreaks in the Mappilla area

47 During the last decade special efforts have been made to improve and develop education among Mappillas The difficulties regarding separate schools, the medium of instruction, the provision of teachers and the importance of religious instruction, which we have already discussed in regard to the education of Muhammadans generally in India, are even more prominent amongst the Mappillas in Malabar than elsewhere A committee, which was appointed by the Madras Government in 1922 to investigate whether separate elementary schools for Mappillas should be abolished, recommended their retention In consequence, the number of special elementary schools for Mappillas has risen from 557 with an enrolment of about 39,000 in 1921-22 to 1,239 with an enrolment of 86,300 in 1926-27 The evidence shows that these special elementary schools are by no means as efficient as the ordinary public elementary schools The latest Quinquennial Review states that "out of 3,887 teachers employed in schools especially intended for Mappillas, 2,760 are untrained It is evident that the facilities offered for training at the Government Training School [for Mappillas] are not sufficient and a scheme for the expansion of training facilities to Mappilla teachers is under consideration "†

It appears, however, that the Committee evidently recognised the desirability of Mappilla pupils joining in the ordinary educational system as soon as possible from their recommendation that

* See Chapter XIII, para 1

† Madras Q R., page 125

the elementary education for Mappillas should be made compulsory, that the separate inspecting agency for Mappilla schools should be abolished on the introduction of compulsion and that the separate training school for Mappillas should be abolished * We have been informed that "a large number of Mappilla pupils have come under the schemes of compulsory education introduced in the three municipalities of Calicut, Tellicherry and Cochin and in the selected areas of the Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluqs" * It is interesting to find that up to 1927 the only areas in which compulsion had been introduced in the Madras Presidency were these taluqs

48 The Madras Government probably considered that the extreme backwardness and the special needs of the community justified the retention of a separate inspecting agency since the recommendation of the Committee that it should be abolished was not accepted The subordinate special inspecting staff has been strengthened and a special assistant to the district educational officer has been appointed mainly to assist the development of Mappilla education

There are already two special secondary schools for Mappilla boys with a total enrolment of 208 pupils The fact that nearly 700 Mappilla boys are now enrolled in the ordinary secondary schools suggests that it is in the best interests of the community for them to attend the ordinary secondary schools

49 Though a claim has been put forward for the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction in Mappilla schools, the witnesses whom we examined on this point agreed that, since Malayalam was really the home language of the Mappilla community, it was preferable to provide for instruction through the medium of Malayalam with Urdu as a subsidiary language and for the translation of Urdu works into Malayalam This view was also held by the Special Committee of 1922 which recommended the appointment of a Committee to compile text books in Malayalam from selected portions of the Koran and other *kitabs* In 1924, the Government of Madras, in consequence, appointed a special Text Book Committee, which has, since that date, been preparing and publishing Readers for the Mappilla community for use in lower and higher elementary schools

The need for the giving of religious instruction by properly qualified Arabic teachers in all schools for Mappillas has been fully recognised by the Madras Government and even in the Government Training School religious instruction is being given

Special scholarships for Mappillas have been provided in increasing numbers in recent years, but several witnesses have stated that a far larger number is required

* Madras Q R, pages 124 125

50 Viewing the condition of Mappilla education as a whole, we think that a great advance has been made during the last ten years and that there are indications of future progress But the condition of education amongst Mappilla girls is particularly discouraging There is no secondary school of any kind for Mappilla girls and comparatively few girls are reading even in elementary schools The Special Report on the Development of Women's Education in the Madras Presidency has however suggested that, owing to the fact that Malayalam is the home language of Mappillas, separate schools for Mappilla girls will not be necessary, provided that an adequate proportion of Mappilla women teachers are appointed in the ordinary schools

CHAPTER X.

Education of the Depressed Classes.

1 **The community.**—The use of the term 'depressed classes' has given rise to some difficulties In the chapter on the Education of the Depressed Classes in the Memorandum on the Progress of Education in India prepared by the Government of India, it is made clear that the chapter deals only with—

> " those members of the Hindu community who are regarded as out-castes or ' untouchables ' and who have in consequence suffered from serious social disabilities in the matter of education and general advancement "

In this chapter, following the example of the Memorandum of the Government of India, we shall endeavour to confine our survey, as far as possible, to the growth of education amongst the castes regarded by orthodox Hindus as 'untouchables' The education of these classes raises a question of great difficulty and importance since their children are, in many places, actually excluded from the ordinary public schools on the ground of caste alone The general problem of communities which are educationally backward for other reasons is a different one with which we are not concerned at present

2 While it is true that caste prejudice is in many areas rapidly disappearing, it is difficult to exaggerate the disadvantages under which members of the depressed classes suffer in some places In certain areas, an 'untouchable' still causes pollution by presence as well as by contact, and in these areas many of the public roads and wells cannot be used in daylight by the depressed classes Publicly managed schools are not infrequently located on sites which are entirely inaccessible to the depressed classes, and even in those areas in which their children are admitted to the ordinary schools it often happens that the depressed class pupils are made to sit separately in the class-room or even outside the school building

3 Taking the definition of the depressed classes in the form that we have given it, we find that the figures for those classes are not directly ascertainable from the Census of 1921 The figures which we give in the following Table are based on the classification of tribes and castes regarded as 'untouchable' in the papers laid by the Government of India before the Legislative

Assembly in 1928 We may add that the majority of the Quinquennial Reviews include under the depressed classes only those who are regarded as 'untouchable' *

TABLE XCI

Population of depressed classes by provinces

	Number of depressed classes (in millions)
Madras	6 53
Bombay	1 46
Bengal	6 64
United Provinces	7 89
Punjab	1 70
Bihar and Orissa	2 53
Central Provinces	3 01

There are practically no 'untouchables' in Burma and Assam

4 **Enrolment of pupils.**—The increase in enrolment of depressed class pupils during the five years ending in 1927 has in all provinces been larger in proportion than the increase in the enrolment of all pupils, although in all provinces the percentage of depressed pupils under instruction is considerably below the general percentage for pupils of all communities The following Tables give the figures for enrolment and percentages of increase —

TABLE XCII

Total number of depressed classes under instruction in recognised institutions by provinces

——	1922	1927	Percentage of increase of depressed class pupils	Percentage of increase of all pupils
Madras	157,113	228,511	45 4	39 8
Bombay	36,543	60,260	64 9	24 4
Bengal	96,552	344,179	256 4	24 8
United Provinces	39,873	90,816	127 8	32 7
Punjab	3,732	19,502	422 5	96 5
Bihar and Orissa	15,096	25,006	65 6	39 6
Central Provinces	28,919	34,531	19 4	18 4

* The Hill Tribes, Aborigines and Criminal Tribes are not classified in the Quinquennial Reviews as 'untouchable', but are dealt with separately We regret that the time at our disposal has been insufficient to allow us to discuss the education of these classes.

TABLE XCIII.

Percentage of depressed classes and of total population under instruction in 1927

	Depressed classes	Total population
Madras ..	3 5	5 8
Bombay .	4 1	5 7
Bengal ,	4 3	4 9
United Provinces	1 1	2 8
Punjab .	1 1	5 2
Bihar and Orissa	0 9	3 1
Central Provinces	1 1	2 8

5 It is clear that there has been rapid growth in all provinces except the Central Provinces The figures for Bengal are remarkable, but they represent the totals of all 'backward classes' which include a number of castes which are not 'depressed' Referring to the very large increase in enrolment (from 96,000 to 344,000), the Bengal Quinquennial Review states that—

> "this is not all a real increase for during the quinquennium some new tribes or classes were placed on the list of educationally backward classes, which accounts in part for the apparent increase But even when this allowance has been made there is no doubt that education has been spreading among the backward classes at a rate much faster than among other classes "*

6 Though the increase in enrolment has been satisfactory, the depressed class pupils are largely confined to the primary stage

* Bengal Q R., page 88.

The following Table shows the enrolment in the provinces according to the various stages of instruction.—

TABLE XCIV

Number of depressed classes (boys and girls) under instruction by stages and by provinces

Province	Primary stage	Middle stage	High stage	Collegiate stage
Madras	224,873(*a*)	2,647(*b*)		47
Bombay	58,651(*a*)	730(*c*)		9
Bengal	310,398	8,787	5,996	1,670
United Provinces	88,383	1,367	42	10
Punjab	14,284	914	110	*Nil*
Bihar and Orissa	24,574	52	7	*Nil*
Central Provinces	33,123	1,022	59	16

(*a*) Number in primary schools only
(*b*) Number in middle and high stages
(*c*) Number in primary, middle and high stages of secondary schools

The above Table does not include depressed class pupils in special schools Bengal is the only province which shows a fair proportion of pupils in the high stages, but as has already been explained the figures for Bengal include classes not ' depressed '

7 While the figures for boys reading above the primary stage are very low, the corresponding figures for girls are deplorable The following Table shows the numbers of pupils of the depressed classes reading in girls' schools at the middle, high and collegiate stages in 1927 —

TABLE XCV

Pupils of the depressed classes in institutions for girls by stages and provinces

—	Primary stage	Middle stage	High stage	Collegiate stage
Madras	7,276	230	14	2
Bombay	5,739(*a*)	159(*a*)	1(*a*)	*Nil*
Bengal	28,086	49(*b*)	5(*b*)	3(*b*)
United Provinces	2,204	8	1	*Nil*
Punjab	398	2	*Nil*	*Nil*
Bihar and Orissa	2,210(*c*)	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
Central Provinces	521(*c*)	3(*c*)	*Nil*	*Nil.*

(*a*) Includes Aborigines, Hill and Criminal Tribes
(*b*) Includes all backward classes
(*c*) Number of girls in boys' schools and girls' schools

Only one girl out of every 30,000 of the female population of the depressed classes proceeds beyond the primary stage

8 **The special measures adopted to spread education among the depressed classes.**—In all provinces special measures have been adopted, particularly in recent years, to develop and expand the education of the depressed classes, but the need for special treatment has varied between province and province In Madras, for example, where the caste system is most rigid, extensive measures for the encouragement and protection of depressed class pupils have been necessary, but in Bengal, where "though the children may belong to the lowest classes of the Hindu social system or be outside the pale of caste altogether, there is no difficulty in their being admitted to primary schools"* the special measures have been almost limited to financial assistance

In *Madras*, the more important steps taken, during the last ten years, to encourage the depressed classes have included —

(*a*) the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour, entrusted with the task of encouraging the education of the depressed classes

(*b*) the insistence on the right of admission for depressed class pupils into all publicly managed schools,

(*c*) the refusal of grant-in-aid to privately managed schools which do not admit depressed class pupils,

(*d*) the removal of publicly managed schools from places inaccessible to depressed class pupils,

(*e*) the opening of ' special ' schools and hostels for the depressed classes,

(*f*) the remission of fees and the provision of scholarships, and

(*g*) the provision of special facilities for the training of depressed class teachers

Seventeen posts of District Labour Officer have been created under the Commissioner of Labour and these officers have opened 994 special schools for the depressed classes Between 1922 and 1927, the total number of special schools for these classes increased from 7,651 to 10,035 Large numbers of scholarships and stipends have been reserved for depressed class pupils, all poor depressed class pupils have been admitted into all grades of institutions on payment of half fees and have been accepted as candidates for the School Leaving Certificate examination without payment of examination fees

* Memorandum on the Growth of Education in Bengal, page 31

In *Bombay*, Government has made persistent efforts to throw open the doors of all recognised institutions to the children of the depressed classes In 1923, they ordered that no disability should be imposed on the children of the depressed classes in any school conducted by a public authority and that all schools located in temples should be removed to accessible buildings In the same year, the Government also ordered that no grant-in-aid should be paid to privately managed schools which refused admission to depressed class pupils The opening of special schools and hostels has been encouraged and the number of special schools rose from 508 in 1922 to 572 in 1927 No special scholarships have been reserved for pupils of the depressed classes, but a large number of scholarships have been instituted for the "backward" classes which include not only the depressed classes but also the hill-tribes, aborigines, and criminal tribes In this connexion it has been reported that while the number of candidates is sufficient to absorb the primary scholarships reserved for backward communities, including the depressed classes, the number of applicants from these communities for scholarships in secondary schools and colleges is too small to absorb all the available scholarships

In *Bengal*, Government makes an annual special provision in the budget for the education of the backward classes and the sum voted is spent mainly on scholarships for these classes, on capitation grants to teachers in the schools attended by the backward classes, and on the provision of facilities for the training of teachers belonging to these classes Some special schools have been opened, mainly under private management

In the *United Provinces*, the education of the depressed classes has been encouraged by the appointment of special supervisors of schools, by the remission of school-fees and by the provision of post-primary scholarships Under the contract system of financing primary education Government have prescribed a minimum expenditure to be spent by local boards on the education of the depressed classes, and a lump grant has been annually given by Government towards the total expenditure under this head District boards have been encouraged to open special schools for the pupils belonging to depressed classes, and these schools have increased in number from 582 in 1922 to 814 in 1927.

In the *Punjab*, a very limited number of separate schools for the depressed classes have been opened, but Government have insisted that local bodies should give equal opportunities of education to all classes of the communities, and local bodies have encouraged the attendance of depressed class pupils at school by the grant of exemptions from the payment of fees and by the free provision of books Special scholarships have been reserved for the children of the depressed classes and the inspecting staff have been ordered to maintain separate lists of the depressed class pupils of school-going age in every area

In *Bihar*, the special methods adopted to develop the education of the depressed classes have included the payment of special rates of grant-in-aid to schools admitting depressed class pupils the payment of special rates of pay to teachers in schools which admit depressed class pupils, and the provision of special scholarships and fee remissions In 1926, Government decided that for a period of five years depressed class pupils should be excused fees at all secondary schools managed or aided by Government in which less than half the pupils were depressed class pupils In 1927, Government decided to appoint a special inspecting staff to supervise the education of the depressed classes

In the *Central Provinces*, the educational rules have been amended so as to prevent the refusal of admission of any depressed class pupil into a publicly managed institution and so as to prevent any differential treatment of depressed class pupils reading in publicly managed schools Under the grant-in-aid code, special two-thirds grants may be paid to schools for the depressed classes opened by private management and capital grants may also be paid for the erection of hostels for the depressed classes Fee remissions and scholarships have been liberally awarded and bonuses have been paid to the headmasters of primary schools for each pupil from the depressed classes who passes the Primary Certificate examination

9 **Indications of progress.**—The adoption of these measures in the provinces has resulted in considerable improvement and there is a changing, if not changed, outlook on the part of the Hindu public Our evidence shows that in recent years much private effort has been concentrated on the education and uplift of the

depressed classes and that both the central and provincial Legislatures have repeatedly shown their anxiety to remove the disabilities under which the depressed classes are suffering

In *Madras*, caste restrictions are difficult to overcome, and it is significant that there are only about 16,000 depressed class pupils in the ordinary public schools The work of the Depressed Classes Union, the Poor Schools Society, the Social Service League and of the Andhra Deena Seva Sangam, all of which maintain schools for the depressed classes, is setting a valuable example in this province

In *Bombay*, the Quinquennial Review states that "these orders [providing for free access to all schools] were in some places at first resented by orthodox Hindus, but the recent reports of the educational inspectors show that the prejudice against these classes has lessened, although stray cases of antagonism are still reported from rural areas"* In the same connexion it is significant that the Bombay Municipality have closed their 'special' schools for the depressed classes, "the children being allowed to join the ordinary schools and mix freely with the pupils of other communities" * Private associations, including the Servants of India Society, the Depressed Classes Union and the Ahmedabad Labour Union, are reported to be doing much for the emancipation and education of the depressed classes and the Inspector of Schools, Bombay Division, has stated that the leaders of the people "are holding conferences and educating public opinion with a view to spread education among their masses"†

In *Bengal*, as we have shown, the recent progress made by the backward communities has been remarkable and the Quinquennial Review states that "the most gratifying feature is the keenness of some of the backward classes, especially the Namasudras, to help themselves"‡ The same Review also states that "the spread of education among them marks the Namasudras as destined speedily to emerge from the position of a 'backward' class"‡ The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes is an example of the extent to which private effort has helped progress Over 400 schools are at present maintained by this Society in different parts of Bengal

* Bombay Q R, page 191
† Bombay Q R, page 192
‡ Bengal Q R, page 88

In the *United Provinces*, the large increase in the enrolment of depressed class pupils in the ordinary schools is a most hopeful sign In 1927, while 69,051 depressed class pupils were reading in the ordinary primary schools for boys, only 22,926 were reading in special schools The Quinquennial Review states that "about 75 per cent of the total number of depressed class pupils attend mixed schools This indicates that caste prejudices are dying down and that the higher castes make much less objection to the admission of these boys to the ordinary schools Still stronger proof of the breaking down of prejudice is to be found in the presence of pupils belonging to the higher castes in the special depressed class schools In the Allahabad division 16 per cent of the enrolment of depressed class schools belongs to higher castes, in the Lucknow division 1,021 boys of other castes were reading in the special schools attended by 1,340 depressed class boys, and somewhat similar are cases elsewhere "*

In the *Punjab*, caste prejudice is reported to be rapidly disappearing, and the fact that 15,308 depressed class pupils, out of a total of 19,502, are reading in the ordinary schools is encouraging. The Report of the Special Officer deputed to investigate the problem also shows that conditions are favourable to an advance

In *Bihar*, though the percentage of depressed class pupils under instruction is very low, it is satisfactory that out of a total of 25,006 under instruction, as many as 19,373 are reading in the ordinary mixed schools

In the *Central Provinces*, progress has been very slow but "two tendencies have become increasingly manifest during the quinquennium First, the depressed classes have evinced a growing consciousness of their educational and social disabilities and a growing assertion of claims to social and political recognition
The second tendency has been a growing recognition on the part of the more advanced classes of the claims of the depressed classes "†

10 **Conclusions.**—Two policies have been suggested for meeting the educational needs of the depressed classes In the view of many of our witnesses, their interests can best be safeguarded by a policy of extending the system of segregate schools and of providing separate supervising staffs for these schools The other policy is to admit the children of the depressed classes on equal

* United Provinces Q R, page 104.
† Central Provinces Q R, page 112

terms into the ordinary schools Rao Bahadur M C Rajah, M L A , in a memorandum submitted to us and in his verbal evidence, advocated an intermediate policy —

> "separate schools for depressed classes should not be the rule but should only be started in places where boys of the depressed classes are not likely to be treated with that regard for their welfare which they have a right to expect at least from their teachers "

11 We are strongly of the opinion that the policy of the 'mixed school' is the right one The system of segregate schools tends necessarily to emphasise rather than to reduce the differences between the depressed classes and the other Hindu castes All the provincial Governments have for some years past ordered that depressed class pupils should receive equal opportunities of entering into, and equal treatment in, all publicly managed institutions But the figures for the enrolment of depressed class pupils suggest that, unfortunately, these orders have not been strictly carried out The fact, for example, that in Madras out of a total of 228,000 depressed class pupils only 16,000 are reading in the ordinary schools indicates that in many of the publicly managed schools the admission of depressed class pupils must still present difficulties On the other hand, the fact that in the same province over 70,000 pupils who do not belong to the depressed classes are reading in the special schools mainly intended for the depressed classes would appear to show that, when it is to their convenience, the caste pupils overcome the existing prejudices We have had evidence that the rules in the provinces regarding the equal treatment to be accorded to depressed class pupils, once they have been admitted into the ordinary schools, are frequently broken The Director of Public Instruction of the Central Provinces illustrates this fact in his Quinquennial Review, in which writing of a village school in the Nagpur district, he states that—

> "boys from the depressed classes were required to sit in the verandah of the primary school apart from their fellow pupils The community bitterly resented this and claimed equality of treatment On meeting no response, although there was plenty of accommodation in the main school they opened a school of their own "*

Even in the Punjab where, as we have stated, prejudice is fast disappearing, it is reported that in one district the children of the depressed classes attending the public schools did not get water to drink We feel strongly that the wisest policy for the future will be a determined insistence on the carrying out of the orders of the provincial Governments, instead of an extension of

* Central Provinces Q. R., page 113.

the system of separate provision This system, in some cases, is liable to be used, particularly by local bodies, merely as a means of evading the orders of Government

12 We are aware that it may still be necessary in a few places, particularly in those places where a great majority of the local population belong to the depressed classes, to provide schools for them, but such schools should be regarded as ordinary public schools and not as segregate institutions In our opinion, the more the special schools tend to become mixed schools, the better it will be for all sections of the people We concur in the view of the Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces who writes in his Quinquennial Review that—

> "the single mixed primary school is the most economical and the most efficient type of primary institution These special schools, therefore, should be regarded as institutions of temporary expediency, which will serve the purpose of bridging the period until the community agrees that its needs can be fully served by the mixed school and is willing to use that institution and to allow it to be used without let or hindrance by all classes of the community While the necessity for furtherance of education amongst the depressed classes continues as strong as, if not stronger than formerly, the need of having special schools for the purpose is diminishing as the ordinary mixed school tends more and more to meet the needs of all classes of the community "*

The Committee appointed to enquire into and report on the state of primary education of the educationally backward communities in the United Provinces advocated the same policy —

> "The Committee reiterates its belief in the ideal of a single type of school maintained by district and municipal boards for all communities and recommends a policy with regard to the education of the depressed classes that will lead to the realisation of this ideal It recognises first and foremost that the elevation of the depressed classes and their conversion to literacy can only be accomplished by the removal of the stigma upon them and the stimulation of their aspirations For the removal of this stigma it recommends wherever possible the establishment of ordinary board schools in areas occupied by members of these classes rather than the creation of ignominiously labelled 'depressed class schools' "†

* United Provinces Q R , page 103
† Wetherill Report (1927), page 8

13 If, as we hope will be the case, pupils of the depressed classes are admitted in large numbers to the ordinary schools, steps should be taken to ensure that a certain number of suitably qualified and trained teachers chosen from those classes should be recruited to the staffs of the ordinary schools The adequate representation of these classes on the local educational bodies, such as is found in Madras and Bombay, is also desirable

14 There is a further reason why we consider it essential that the orders of the provincial Governments in regard to the free admission of depressed class pupils into the ordinary schools should be enforced immediately and rigorously Our Review has shown not only that compulsion has been introduced already in a considerable number of areas, but that many schemes for compulsion are likely to be adopted during the next few years If, under schemes for compulsion, separate schools have to be provided for the depressed classes in many areas the cost of the schemes will be very largely and unnecessarily increased The figures for the enrolment of depressed class pupils in the ordinary schools during the last five years have shown the extent to which prejudice is dying out and when compulsion is introduced on a large scale, it will, we hope, be only a matter of time before all classes of the community become accustomed to new and more wholesome conditions of life

15 We desire to point out in conclusion that it will not be sufficient for Government merely to insist on the admission of the children of the depressed classes to the ordinary schools It will be necessary to see that the regulations are carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, and that the children are treated on equal terms in all respects with the children of other communities

CHAPTER XI.

Education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

I —The Community

According to the Census of 1921, the total European and Anglo-Indian population was a little over 250,000

	Male	Female	Total
Europeans	1,11,000	46,000	1,57,000
Anglo Indians	48,000	48,000	96,000
Total	1,59,000	94,000	2,53,000

About 60,000 of the Europeans were in the Army and may be neglected for the purpose of educational statistics Thus, the total European and Anglo-Indian population, excluding those in the Army, was approximately 193,000

2 The position of Anglo-Indians is difficult and perplexing, and needs special consideration, especially in the matter of education As far back as 1881, Lord Lytton's Government wrote these words—

> "It has been rightly said that one very special reason why Government cannot afford to ignore the growing up in India of an uninstructed European population is that, in the case of the European, his capacity for self-maintenance depends entirely upon the education he receives He cannot support himself in this country by working as a day-labourer, or by adopting the avocation of the native peasant An uneducated European almost necessarily becomes an idle and profitless, and often a dangerous, member of the community On the other hand, it must be remembered that he, or his English ancestor was brought out to India originally to do work that could only be done by a European, a fact which in itself gives him some claim to consideration The climate is uncongenial to him, the cost of living is necessarily disproportionate to his means, and he is deprived at the same time of the educational opportunities which are now available at home, even to the poorest of the working class In all these respects the European parent is placed at a disadvantage, and it thus becomes necessary for the Government to come to his assistance "*

* Resolution of the Government of India of 8 October, 1881, quoted in the Review of Education in India in 1886, page 297

3 The Anglo-Indian is essentially a poor community In 1891-92, a committee appointed by the Government of Bengal reported that 19 per cent of its members were in utter destitution and were living on public or private charity The Pickford Committee, appointed in 1918-19, estimated the percentage at 17 The majority of the few who achieve distinction and affluence leave the community, and sometimes the country, and thus the community loses the benefit of their leadership The bulk of the community reside in towns, where the standard of living is high, and they live in European fashion in the matter of clothing, food, housing, etc In recent years, they have felt the strain of competition for many posts in Government service of which they used to hold almost a monopoly

A large section of the community is migratory in character, many of its members being employed in the railways, telegraph, customs and other all-India services, in which transfers are frequent In consequence, the children either accompany their parents from one province to another, or else are sent to boarding schools, where the cost is comparatively high

4 Large sections of the community attach great importance to education and make great sacrifices in order to give their children a good schooling The fact that about 24 5 per cent of the population are at school indicates that nearly every child is receiving some sort of education Many parents are keenly anxious for their children to be brought up in the Christian faith and in surroundings in harmony with their traditions They take a pride in their schools, many of which are of old foundation and have fine records

II —Schools and enrolment *

5 The following Table gives the number of institutions of all kinds —

TABLE XCVI

Number of European institutions of different grades

	1917	1922	1927
Intermediate Arts Colleges	5	4	7
Training Colleges	2	2	3
High Schools	150	153	167
Middle Schools	142	130	108
Primary Schools	97	102	116
Special Schools	48	52	20
Total	444	443	421

The difference between the high, middle and primary schools is—

"one of degree and not of kind A primary school which contains a small number of senior pupils who have

*The official name of educational institutions provided for Europeans and Anglo-Indians is 'European Schools', except in Burma, where they are called 'English Schools'.

passed the primary stage (and there are many such schools catering for the needs of small isolated European communities in the plains) is for statistical purposes classified as a middle school "*

A school may therefore pass easily from one class to another, and this explains the variations in the numbers in successive periods The large reduction in the number of special schools is mainly the result of a change in classification in Bengal, where in 1922, the supplementary and technical classes attached to general institutions were classified as separate institutions

6 The following Table shows the number of institutions in each province in 1927 —

TABLE XCVII

Number of European institutions of different grades by provinces.

Province	Intermediate Arts Colleges	Training Colleges	High Schools	Middle Schools	Primary Schools	Special Schools
Madras			30	31	22	4
Bombay			21	14		4
Bengal		1	41		17	3
United Provinces	4		24	12	13	2
Punjab	1	2	12	8	9	2
Burma	..		18	14	1	3
Bihar and Orissa				5	16	
Central Provinces			7	10	17	
Assam			1	3		
Bangalore	2		6	5	7	2
British India	7	3	167	108	116	20

Approximately 75 per cent of the schools are located in the plains and 25 per cent in the hills The majority of the schools in the Punjab are in the hills, but in Madras only 17, and in Bengal only 12, are in the hills

The extent to which the schools in the plains are concentrated in the large cities may be gathered from the fact that out of 87 schools in the Madras Presidency, 22 are in Madras city, and out of 62 schools in Bengal, 33 are in Calcutta

7 **Management** —The great majority of the schools are under mission management, but 95 are maintained by the Railways† The remainder are managed either by private agencies or by Government

The following Table shows the number of institutions in the three Presidencies under different kinds of management —

	Government	Mission	Private agency	Railway
Madras	1	57	12	17
Bombay		30		9
Bengal	3	41	7	11

* Progress of Education in India, 1917—1922, Vol I, page 1

† Twelve of these schools are located outside British India

8 **Location of schools.**—European schools divide themselves roughly into three groups—the hill schools, the schools in the larger towns, and the railway schools

The hill schools are nearly all boarding schools, and are the result of the natural desire of the community to secure education for their children in a temperate climate These schools generally cater for those members of the community who can afford a better type of education than that offered by the smaller type of school in the plains

The schools in the plains vary from the larger boarding schools in the cities such as the La Martinière schools in Calcutta and Lucknow, to the small day-schools in places where Anglo-Indians have congregated

The railway schools, scattered over a wide area along the railway lines of India, meet the needs of the large number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, some 16 000 in 1926, who are employed by the Railway Companies

There are also a number of orphanages, both in the hills and the plains, which rescue and educate destitute children The best known of these orphanages are the St Andrew's Homes, Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling hills and the St George's Homes, Kaity, in the Nilgiris

9 Some of the European schools are of old foundation For example, there are the Bishop Cotton Schools at Simla and Bangalore, which were founded by Bishop Cotton in memory of those members of the community who died in the Mutiny There are the four schools at Murree, Sanawar, Mount Abu and Ootacamund, which were founded in memory of Henry Lawrence There are the two schools at Lucknow and Calcutta which bear the name of General Claude Martin and which owe much to his generous legacies There are also many schools maintained by Catholic Brotherhoods and other Missions

10 **Enrolment** —The following Table gives the number of pupils in recognised European schools —

Year	Total
1917	42,621
1922	46,600
1927	53,151

These figures, however, do not give the correct number of European pupils for, on the one hand, European schools are enrolling an increasing number of Indian pupils (a matter which will be discussed later) and, on the other hand, a growing number of European pupils are attending general institutions

The following Table gives the total number of European pupils —

Year	Males	Females	Total
1917	22,027	20,458	42,485
1922	22,947	21,628	44,575
1927	23,213*	24,079*	47,292

These figures show that about 24 5 per cent of the population are at school or college

11 **Stages of instruction.**—The following Table gives the number of pupils at each stage of instruction —

Year	Collegiate	High	Middle	Primary
1922	550	3,055	9,295	29,748
1927	690	2,747	9,414	32,387

The number of pupils at the primary stage alone represents more than 16 per cent of the population as against the normal school-going percentage of 14 per cent for children between the ages of six and eleven There is very little wastage at the primary stage and it is safe to assume that the great majority of the children of the community at any rate become literate

On the other hand, a comparatively small proportion of the children proceed from the primary to the middle stage, and still fewer from the middle to the high stage Out of 100 children in the highest class of the middle stage, only 46 pass on to the next class, and only a very few go on to college There were only 409 Anglo-Indian students in arts colleges in 1927, and there were only 48 in the final degree class, but a number of the pupils go to England for higher and professional education

III —Expenditure

12 The following Table gives the direct and indirect expenditure on European education —

TABLE XCVIII

Provision for expenditure on European education by sources

	1917	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Government Funds	36,46,883	47,70,968	50,98,162
Board Funds	27,908	21,653	52,236
Fees	33,41,183	40,06,770	53,94,471
Other Sources	25,87,214	36,73,835	45,16 540
Total	96,03 188	1,32,73,226	1,50,61,4[illegible]8

* The 1927 figures are for pupils in schools for males and in schools for females

13 An interesting fact which emerges from this Table is that, although Government now contributes more to European education than in 1917, fees and other sources bear an even larger proportion of the total cost Between 1917 and 1927, the contribution by Government increased by about 39 per cent , fees by over 61 per cent , and other sources by nearly 75 per cent In other words, the community is now meeting an even larger proportion of the cost of its education than formerly In 1917, a little over 61 per cent of the total cost was met from fees and other sources, in 1927, over 65 per cent

Another feature of interest is the increased cost per pupil In 1917, the cost per pupil was Rs 225, in 1927 it had risen to Rs 283 Meanwhile, the rate of fees rose in almost the same proportion The average fee per pupil was under Rs 80 in 1917, and a little over Rs 100 in 1927

14 The cost of European education has often been contrasted with the cost of Indian education in order to prove that the former is proportionately higher and that European schools receive preferential treatment But, in making such a comparison, certain essential differences should be borne in mind. It is not legitimate to compare the average cost per pupil (Rs 22) in an Indian school with the average cost per pupil (Rs 283) in a European school, without explanation

Large numbers of the European schools are boarding institutions and the cost per pupil includes boarding charges, an item which represents only a small fraction in the figures for Indian schools A European pupil pays a far larger sum in fees than the Indian pupil The average annual fee of a European pupil is over Rs 100, that of the Indian pupil is less than Rs 5

Again, more than five-sixths of the total number of pupils in Indian schools are in the primary classes, more than half of these being in Class I, and most of the primary schools give free education The proportion of free pupils in European schools is very much smaller, while a far higher proportion of European pupils are reading in the middle and high stages, a fact which raises the average cost considerably

We have already referred to the large sums raised each year from other sources, mainly private subscriptions benefactions and endowments Notable examples of private philanthropy have been the large benefactions made by Sir Percy Newson and Sir Paul Chater to the schools in Bengal

All these factors go to explain the reason why the proportion which is borne by public funds is only 35 per cent of the cost of European education as against 65 per cent for all classes of education While it is true that, in comparison, for the reasons

given, European education is more expensive than Indian education, it is also true that it receives more financial support from private sources in some form or another

15 Between 1922 and 1927, the direct expenditure on Indian schools increased by 44 per cent , while the direct expenditure on European schools increased by only 11 per cent This is as would be expected , and the difference should be even greater in future The European community does not tend to increase in number, and practically all its children are now at school Any future increase in expenditure on European education is likely therefore to be for improvement rather than for expansion

16 **Need of concentration.**—While there seems no reason to suppose that an undue proportion of public funds is being spent on European schools, there is great need and opportunity for economy in the present system The average strength of a primary school is only 60, of a middle school 105, and of a high school 200, and many of the schools in up-country places have enrolments far below these averages Among the 95 railway schools, there are thirty with less than twenty pupils and eleven schools with only ten pupils or less Even in the larger centres, there is much duplication, due very largely to the maintenance of separate denominational institutions

There has been much opposition to amalgamation on social and sectarian grounds, but in recent years there has been a healthier tendency towards concentration In Bombay, Madras and the Punjab, a number of important amalgamations have been effected, and in several provinces small or unnecessary schools have been closed down In Madras, five such schools were abolished between 1922 and 1927 But religious differences, social distinctions and vested interests still stand in the way of further progress in this direction

The railway schools, in particular, afford an example of the expensive and uneconomic character of the separate provision made by the smaller class of schools for European and Anglo-Indian pupils 4,339 pupils of the community attend the 95 schools, an average of only 45 per school A report on the expenditure of the Railways on the education of employees was submitted to the Railway Board in 1927, and we understand that the matter is under consideration by the Government of India Much economy could be effected by the adoption of the policy already accepted by the North-Western Railway of granting assistance to the children of European and Anglo-Indian employees to attend the ordinary European or Indian school, at whatever distance, in preference to the present policy of other railways which maintain small schools at outlying stations, to meet the needs of scattered groups of children

17 Economy is also needed in the numerous orphanages which are scattered over the country The St Andrew's Homes at Kalimpong, for example, have shown a great capacity for expansion, and, if suitable arrangements could be made, it would be far better and cheaper to send orphans to such an institution than to provide for them in small and therefore relatively expensive Homes

18 A doubt has been expressed whether provincial Governments have not in one direction been over liberal For many years boarding grants, especially grants for orphans and destitute children, have been given to European schools, and while it is true that many members of the Anglo-Indian community are extremely poor, education in the community has been practically universal for a long time It might therefore have been expected that the proportion of those who are too indigent to afford their children even primary education would steadily decrease But this has unfortunately not been the case In Madras alone, in 1927, 1,350 children, or one out of every seven, were receiving boarding grants and in the Central Provinces the orphan grants amounted to Rs 1 28 lakhs in 1927 The question arises whether these grants have not increased dependency and pauperisation This possibility is referred to by the Director of Public Instruction in Madras who writes in his latest Quinquennial Review —

> "the liberal help given by the Government for many years past does not appear to have had the desired effect of putting the community on its feet In fact, it is open to question whether these philanthropic grants have not been tending to increase the dependence and the poverty of large sections of the community "*

IV —The Future of European Education

19 **Proposal that European Education should be a Central Subject.**—At present, in every province, except in Burma, European education is a reserved provincial subject It is administered by the Director of Public Instruction subject to the general control of a member of the Executive Council There is also in each province an Inspector of European Schools, who may be a full-time or a part-time officer

20 On the question of the future of European education in the provinces we have examined many witnesses and have received a number of memoranda Though the evidence is conflicting in some respects, there is a general agreement in regard to the following points —

(a) European education should be made a central subject, financed from central revenues, though local

* Madras Q R page 118

Governments should also make contributions to the schools in the several provinces

(*b*) Government should maintain a central inspecting staff

These proposals raise important constitutional issues and, if accepted, would necessitate a drastic change in the present system of provincialised education It is evident that they are based on a desire for security and uniformity In this connexion, the Council of the European Association have urged that " the centralisation of European education will lead to—

(*a*) economy,

(*b*) uniformity in education,

(*c*) increased efficiency and improved inspection, and

(*d*) the adequate safeguarding of the reasonable requirements of European education in India "

21 **Security** —In the first place, there is little evidence that the grants for European education have suffered under the Reforms The following Table shows the provincial recurring and non-recurring contributions in the several provinces —

TABLE XCIX

Grants for European education, recurring and non-recurring

Province	1917.	1922.	1927
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	5,88,836	8,01,029	8,85,085
Bombay	4,36,279	4,62,397	5,35,632
Bengal	8,32,150	11,54,433	10,63,381
United Provinces	5,15,216	8,10,187	9,86,683
Punjab	5,80,231	4,78,997	5,01,703
Burma	2,31,574	4,80,356	5,37,377
Bihar and Orissa	89,925	1,18,182	1,08 150
Central Provinces	1,69,160	1,45,430	1,35,519
Assam	31,557	52,810	56,883

In every province, the figures for 1927 are higher than for 1917, except in the Punjab, where the figures for 1917 were inflated by capital and recurring grants from the Government of India towards the training class which was maintained by the Punjab Government for students from all provinces, and in the Central Provinces, and in every province, except Bengal, Bihar and the Central Provinces, there was an increase between 1922 and 1927 In the Central Provinces there was a reduction of Rs 22,000 in maintenance grants which was due to changes in the Code made by Government as a result of a debate in the local Legislative Council

There has been only one instance of a reduction made by a Legislature In 1924, the Bengal Legislative Council reduced

the budget by Rs 99,000, but the money was found later by reappropriation

22 It is also significant that, in Burma where European education is a 'transferred subject' the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Federation has stated that "so far as Burma is concerned, we are definitely against English education being made a central reserved subject", and has shown in evidence that the schools have not suffered financially by the transfer of European education

23 In the second place, there is no ground for supposing that the Central Legislature would be more liberal than the Provincial Legislatures, which are in closer touch with the schools and take a natural pride in the welfare of all schools in the province, to whatever community they may belong

If, again, European education became a 'central subject' and were financed by the Government of India, the community might find itself in the unenviable position of being deprived of the existing facilities for higher, professional and technical education which the provinces now provide for them If such a situation arose, centralisation would result not in economy but in the necessity for an expensive separate provision of such facilities The adoption of such a course would lead to an undesirable differentiation of the educational needs of Europeans and Anglo-Indians and would affect progress adversely *

24 **Uniformity** —We now turn to the aspect of uniformity It is true, as has already been represented, that the community is migratory in character and that therefore the children who move with their parents from province to province are often compelled to attend a number of schools differing from each other in the courses and curricula

While a central inspecting agency might have the effect of securing greater unity of aim and standards, we are of opinion that the disadvantages of such a system would be greater than the advantages A central inspector, with a wide area of jurisdiction, would find it difficult to keep in touch with the schools and their requirements, and constant reference to Delhi or Simla would result in inevitable delay and possibly in misunderstandings

*The proposal to centralise European education was considered by the Government of India in 1913 and rejected The following passage occurs in the Resolution on Indian Educational Policy of that year —

"The suggestion was put forward and largely supported at a conference that European education should be centralised under the Government of India This suggestion cannot be accepted Apart from the fact that decentralisation is the accepted policy of Government, the course of the discussion at the conference showed how different were the conditions of life of members of the domiciled community in different parts of India and how these differences necessarily reacted on their educational arrangements The Government of India are convinced that although some difficulties might be removed more would be created by centralisation"

Again, if due economy were to be observed, the inspecting staff would be inevitably small in numbers, and would therefore be insufficiently equipped to supervise satisfactorily the many subjects of the curriculum or to deal with the many aspects of school life In a provincial system, an Inspector of European Schools can obtain the advice and co-operation of other officials whose work is connected with the transferred side of education It seems inevitable that subjects such as physical training, domestic science and the vernaculars, would suffer under a centralised system of inspection

25 There is an urgent need, however, of some co-ordinating authority whereby the present divergencies and difficulties might be discussed and removed If the Government of India were to take the initial steps, such an authority, including representatives of provincial authorities and schools, might be constituted, and might have powers to control and conduct examinations In our opinion, the attainment of a reasonable measure of uniformity would be gained in a far more satisfactory manner by this means than by the centralisation of European education

26 **Retention of the general system.**—We are agreed that many of the schools, especially the boarding schools in the hills, should continue in their present condition and that parents should have confidence that suitable education will be available for their children

On the other hand, as we have already indicated, European schools in the provinces differ widely in character and the need for the retention of some of them is doubtful The majority of the schools in Madras, for example, cater for pupils whose position, outlook and prospects may be entirely different from those of the pupils in the hill schools of the North West of India It might be preferable for the former to avail themselves of the general schools, which are usually more efficient and often more accessible

27 **Admission of Indians to European schools.**—We have already suggested in a previous chapter that, as far as possible, children of all classes and communities should join, and mix freely in, common schools The question of the admission of Indians to European schools is therefore of importance

The All-India European Schools Code of 1905 prescribed a maximum of fifteen per cent for the total number of Indians in any European school, but this restriction has either been relaxed or abrogated in most provinces In Madras and Bombay, the proportion has been raised to one-third, in the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces to 25 per cent In Burma, there is no restriction at all The result has been a general increase in the enrolment of non-Europeans in European schools, the

number having more than doubled in the last five years. The figures of enrolment are given in the following Table —

TABLE C

Enrolment of non-European pupils in European schools

Province	Total No of pupils	Indians	Percentage
Madras	10,390	1,213	11 7
Bombay	4,021	1,050	21 3
Bengal	10,821	1,685	15 6
United Provinces	6,213	528	8 5
Punjab	2,669	326	12 2
Burma	8,858	3,154	35 6
Bihar and Orissa	1,370	85	6 2
Central Provinces	2,388	681	28 5
Assam	375	32	8 5

The highest percentages are in Burma, the Central Provinces and Bombay, but in Burma admission is unrestricted and, in fact, there is little distinction between the anglo-vernacular and the English schools The evidence on behalf of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Federation shows apprehension as to the result of the unrestricted admission

28 The reasons which led to the modification of the restriction were, first, the increasing desire of well-to-do Indians to provide for their children an education different in character from that of the ordinary Indian schools and, secondly, the hope that the smaller or more uneconomical European schools might strengthen themselves financially if they were allowed to admit a larger proportion of Indian pupils

We consider that the policy of admitting Indian pupils into European schools is a sound one provided that the proportion does not exceed a definite limit and that they are admitted on equal terms with others and at the same rate of fees The proportion of Indians might vary as between boarding and day schools and be higher in the latter type of school

It should be beneficial to Anglo-Indian boys to mix freely with Indian boys and thereby to be stimulated to higher effort by competition with them But we are not in favour of the total removal of restrictions, as the schools would lose thereby their distinctive character and would then satisfy neither party

It must be remembered that most European schools are under private management and at present their authorities have complete liberty to regulate admissions The percentage prescribed is a maximum not a minimum Even the further modification of restrictions need not therefore alter the character or constitution of any school unless the management so desires

V —Examinations and Curricula

29 Much evidence has been placed before us regarding the present courses and examinations taken by European schools A detailed consideration of these questions would be beyond the scope of our review, but there are a few matters which have a bearing on the general condition of European education

30 There is much conflict of opinion as to whether the Cambridge Certificate examinations (which under certain conditions are accepted as equivalent to Indian examinations) or the Indian examinations (including the School Final examination for European Schools) are the more suitable for the schools It is contended, on the one hand, that the standards of the Cambridge examinations are higher and are more consistently maintained than those of the Indian examinations, and that the former afford more valuable qualifications to those who desire to complete their studies in the United Kingdom On the other hand, the vast majority of the pupils intend to make a living in India, and therefore require a course adapted to the standards of an Indian university

In this connexion, the Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, in his Quinquennial Review, after referring to the distinction between the better class schools and the day schools and orphanages, has written —

> "There is much to be said against an alien system of examination such as the Cambridge Locals, they are out of touch with the schools and with the lives and experience of the children and they are most misleading when they dominate the work of the lower classes The Indian high schools, intermediate colleges and universities provide a continuous educational course, the stages of which are marked by the High Schools, the Intermediate and University degree examinations It is naturally to be expected that the boy attending the European schools will, if he continues his formal studies, do so in a university or other higher educational institution in India Satisfactory though the Cambridge examinations may be for a boy leaving school and directly entering on a business or profession, the stages marked by them hardly coincide with any definite stage of the full Indian educational course and it is difficult, with restrictions hampering choice of subjects, etc , to render them suitable as entrance examinations to the courses of study provided in Indian Universities"*

We feel that there should be no barrier to the passage of pupils to the Indian universities, and that the courses in the schools, as

*United Provinces Q R., page 93

far as possible, should be adjusted to the requirements of these universities We are unable to offer an opinion on the question as to whether this object should be achieved by preparation for a matriculation examination or for an examination which is accepted as an equivalent It may be hoped that the co-ordinating authority which we have already suggested will provide a useful means for discussion of this matter by those concerned

31 In accordance with the general principle which we have laid down, it is also most desirable that the teaching of the Indian vernaculars should be efficient We have been informed that, in many of the schools, the vernaculars are neglected, and the deficient knowledge of the vernaculars acts as a handicap in competitive examinations where knowledge of a vernacular is demanded

32 We have already pointed out that very few of the pupils proceed to a university or to a professional college Nearly all the reports from the provinces lay stress on the necessity of improving the higher education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, especially in view of the fact that they must face increasing competition for careers which formerly were freely open to them In view of these circumstances, it appears to us essential that far more European and Anglo-Indian pupils, whose future work lies in India, should join the main stream of national education and be encouraged and assisted to qualify themselves for admission to the arts and professional colleges with a view to entering a liberal profession

In 1925, the Government of Madras made a special survey of European education and, as a result, the Director of Public Instruction has stated that—

> "It has been made clear that the present aim of European education should be the provision of a sound general education for Anglo-Indian children so as to enable them to face successfully the increasing competition for entering into various callings. The absence of competition in the past and the recruitment of relatively unqualified Anglo-Indians to posts which were virtually a monopoly for them have resulted in the continuance of low standards and in an inability to face competition even when the breaking up of monopolies has caused a severe economic depression"*

33 The great importance of fitting Anglo-Indians to compete on equal terms for professional posts has been recognised by the Punjab Government by the opening of the Lawrence College at Ghoragali (near Murree) which prepares pupils for the intermediate examination of the Punjab University The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, considers the founding of this college of unique

* Madras Q R, page 116

importance to the future of European education in the province and writes in his Quinquennial Review —

> "The intermediate classes should be of great benefit to the community as the brighter boys and girls will have the opportunity of continuing their school training until they become eligible for admission to a professional college The main problem of European education in India is to equip members of the community for professional work, and it may well be that this problem will be solved to a great extent by the institution of the Lawrence College at Ghoragali "*

A similar policy has been followed in some of the privately managed colleges or schools in certain other provinces We think that in a few more well-selected places some provision might be made for the pupils to remain at school until the completion of the intermediate stage, whence they could proceed to the general collegiate and professional colleges which are available to them

34 Like other poor communities in India, the European and Anglo-Indian community is entitled to financial support from the State in the form of scholarships, fee remissions and boarding grants and their continuance will still be necessary even if steps are taken to bring the European schools in the plains more into line with the ordinary institutions for Indians.

VI —The Teachers

35 The following Table shows the total number of trained and untrained teachers in European schools in 1927 by provinces :—

TABLE CI

Number of trained and untrained teachers in European schools by provinces

Province	Trained Teachers	Untrained Teachers	Total
Madras	526	226	752
Bombay	219	168	387
Bengal	386	305	691
United Provinces	309	146	455
Punjab	159	80	239
Burma	281	125	406
Bihar and Orissa	54	37	91
Central Provinces	66	61	127
Assam	32	5	37
British India	2,241	1,314	3,555

The percentage of trained teachers has steadily risen from 49 3 per cent in 1917 to 63 per cent in 1927 The majority of the trained teachers are women.

* Punjab Q R., page 99.

36 The Anglo-Indian Association has represented that recruitment from Europe should be stopped and that Anglo-Indians should be appointed to all teaching posts in the future We agree that appointments should be made on merit and not on domicile, but any prohibition of recruitment from Europe is clearly impossible since the governing bodies of the schools, owing to the nature of their foundations, cannot reasonably be dictated to in the matter of appointments so long as suitable and qualified teachers are appointed

The main difficulty, however, is that very few Anglo-Indians reach the degree stage and that even fewer adopt the teaching profession In 1927, there were only 35 Europeans and Anglo-Indians in all India who were reading in the fourth year classes of arts colleges for men, and only twenty-five were enrolled in training colleges for men In Burma, the Director of Public Instruction states —

> 'Anglo-Indian men, who are essential [in English boys' schools] and would be most useful in anglo-vernacular boys' schools, avoid the teaching profession
> In our training schools there was but one Anglo-Indian man to forty-five women and of the 125 students at the two colleges it may be safely stated that not one man will teach after graduating.'"*

37 The adequate provision of training facilities is therefore of great importance to the community In 1927, there was only one training college for men and no training school, while for women there were two training colleges and ten training schools

A training college for men is attached to the Lawrence College and School at Ghoragali It is maintained by the Punjab Government, and, in 1927, included twenty students who were drawn from all India

In the two women's training colleges, there are forty-seven Europeans and Anglo-Indians In the ten training schools there were 176

It is significant, however, that while only five Anglo-Indian men were reading in Indian training colleges and only six in Indian training schools, there were twenty-seven women reading in Indian training colleges and seventy-three in Indian training schools There appears to be no valid reason why more Anglo-Indian men should not make use of the ordinary training institutions in the provinces in order to qualify themselves for service in the European schools, which are clearly in need of them Specialist teachers, in particular, are not available for the schools, and more trained teachers for science, languages and the vernaculars are needed We have been informed that, in the United Provinces, science has

*Burma Q R, page 42.

usually to be taught by persons recruited from Europe or by Indians, and that it is difficult to obtain language teachers and teachers for mathematics and domestic science from the Anglo-Indian community

VII —Conclusions

38 In view of the numerous representations which have been made to us, it will be convenient briefly to summarise the results of our survey of European schools

The proposal to make European education a central and non-votable subject is undesirable, and its adoption would be prejudicial to the interests of the community

If uniformity and co-ordination are needed, a representative central body, possibly with powers to control and conduct examinations, might be established without much expense and without interfering with provincial responsibility for European education

In view of differences in religion, language and conditions of life, the retention of European schools in the hills and of the large European schools in the towns is necessary and desirable But in the interests of the great majority of the poorer pupils who have to fit themselves for obtaining appointments through the open door of competition and merit, the smaller and less efficient schools should be amalgamated or closed Such schools, if retained, would benefit by the admission of a larger number of non-European pupils

The needs of small and isolated bodies of Anglo-Indians should be met by the award of stipends rather than by the maintenance of a large number of small schools

The courses and curricula should be adapted as far as possible to the requirements of Indian universities, and the teaching of the vernaculars should be improved.

CHAPTER XII.

The Education of Certain Communities.

1 **Sikh and Hindu schools in the Punjab and the N.-W. F. Province.**—In the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, the Hindus and Sikhs, who are minority communities in these provinces, have done good service to the cause of education by the maintenance of a large number of schools and colleges In some cases, the funds raised by subscriptions or by donations in lump sums have formed the nucleus of the financial resources of these institutions, and in other cases schools have been founded by individuals inspired by philanthropic motives for the spread of education It has been represented to us that these colleges and schools are open to all castes and creeds, and have been established to meet the special requirements of certain sections of the Hindus and of the Sikhs as well as to promote the cause of education in general, and that the necessity for this type of school has arisen mainly on account of the following reasons :—

(*a*) the inadequate provision for the teaching of Hindi in the ordinary schools,

(*b*) the absence of religious instruction in the publicly managed schools and the desire of certain communities to retain religious education in their own hands, and

(*c*) the declared policy of Government that private enterprise should be encouraged in the case of secondary schools

It has also been represented to us that there is a need in these schools for the teaching of Gurmukhi and Hindi script which has not been supplied up to the present We regret that time has not permitted us to examine this question and to express an opinion upon it

2 **The Parsees** —The community which has perhaps the most creditable record in Indian education is that of the Parsees, the bulk of whom are in the Bombay Presidency According to the Census of 1921, the total number in British India was 88,464 and 73 per cent of that total were literates In 1927, 17,462 were in secondary and primary schools, and 957 were receiving university education The proportion receiving university education is extremely high

Not only is the record of the Parsees creditable in the enrolment of their boys and, in particular of their girls, at school and college, but also in the benefactions to education made in the past by members of the community

According to a memorandum submitted to the Governor of Bombay, of which the community have furnished us a copy, the Poona Engineering College owes its existence to the liberality of the first Sir Cowasji Jehangir and the college has received many other important benefactions from Parsee donors, the Engineering College at Karachi similarly owes its origin to the late Nadirshaw Edalji Dinshaw, and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, the Elphinstone College, the Deccan College, Poona, the Sydenham College of Commerce, the Grant Medical College, the J J Hospital, the Petit Laboratory, the Sir Cowasji Jehangir University Hall and the Tata Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, all owe their inception and existence to the munificence of Parsee philanthropists Moreover, the memorandum states that in not a single case have these donations been conditionally offered so as to involve any direct or indirect obligation on the part of Government to grant any special privilege to the youth of the community in these institutions

The community fears that with the great advance in the education of other communities, and with the consequent pressure on collegiate institutions, especially owing to preference given to other communities, there may no longer be room in either professional or arts colleges for anything like the number of Parsees who have been admitted to them during the past We have been unable to examine this question in detail, but we trust that, in view of the past achievements of this progressive and public-spirited community, its needs will be borne in mind, and that it will be given every opportunity of maintaining its high standard of efficiency in the future

3 **Christian Missions** —From the earliest days of English education in India, Christian missions have played a large part in its establishment, expansion and improvement For generations, the spread of education was due almost entirely to the agency of Government and the missions, and a net work of missionary institutions, primary and secondary schools and colleges, covered the country from Tinnevelly to Peshawar These institutions were not content merely to impart good education, they sought also to give moral and religious training which, though at times influenced by a spirit of proselytising zeal, yet preserved Indian education from being divorced from the ethical and spiritual aspects of life. Moreover, as other agencies came into the general field, the missions found a new and useful sphere of expansion among classes which were neglected by the ordinary system of education, depressed classes and outcastes, aborigines and hill-tribes In recent years, the missions have also paid increased attention to the education of girls

The missions continue to maintain well-staffed and well-equipped colleges in large centres of population, such as the Serampore

College, the Scottish Churches, St Paul's, and St Xavier's Colleges in Bengal, the two Christian Colleges in Madras city, St Joseph's College in Trichinopoly, the Wilson and St Xavier's Colleges in Bombay city, the Forman Christian College in Lahore and St Stephen's College in Delhi" These colleges have high traditions of their own and have retained the affection and loyalty of thousands of students

Not only in the past but also in recent times missions have done pioneer and experimental work of great value For instance, it was they who first developed the residential system, and the experiments in rural education which have been initiated by the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga and elsewhere have attracted much attention and have given rise to a new movement

The following Table shows the number of institutions of various types managed by Christian missions

TABLE CII

Educational institutions maintained by Christian missions

Provinces	Colleges	Secondary schools	Primary schools	Special schools	Total
Madras	20	193	7,718	89	8,020
Bombay		No information			
Bengal	9	73	642	136	860
United Provinces	13	100	144	21	278
Punjab		No information			
Burma		No information.			
Bihar and Orissa	1	52	857	32	942
Central Provinces	1	65	178	4	248
Assam		19	667	4	690

4 **Other philanthropic activities.**—Somewhat later than the Christian missions, other philanthropic associations entered the field of western education Schools attached to temples, mosques and monasteries have existed in India for centuries, they imparted, and still impart, the rudiments of education, and some knowledge of religion and ritual to thousands of children We attach greater importance to philanthropic agencies such as the Seva Sadan in Bombay, the Deccan Education Society in Poona, the Brahmo Samaj and the Ram Krishna Mission, working in different parts of the country All these associations command the services of devoted men and women who are able to correct some of the mistakes and to supplement some of the deficiencies of the existing system The virtues of such activity are its ardour, initiative, devotion and freedom from routine, the danger, a very real one,

is sectarianism and communalism The statement of an inspector quoted in the Quinquennial Review of Bombay is of interest —

> "The organisation of the Seva Sadan is thoroughly non-sectarian and non-sectional It aims primarily at character-building and making women self-reliant and useful social workers The whole work is thoroughly well-organised, eminently practical and of very high social and educational value "*

5 India is keenly grateful for the services rendered by institutions such as have been referred to above, and she still has need for their continuance and expansion While we think that every effort should be made to remove all traces of sectionalism or communalism from these schools and colleges, should such occur, and to ensure that they are national institutions in the true sense of the word, we are anxious that the remarks which we make on this point in this and other chapters should not be interpreted as suggesting that these institutions should in any way be discouraged, provided that they reach the required level of efficiency

There is another point to be considered Most of these institutions are open to all classes and creeds, but in many of them the vast majority of the pupils are drawn only from one section of the community In order to remedy this defect and to encourage members of other communities to apply for admission, the staffs should be drawn from all sections of the communities to which the pupils belong In some of the Christian institutions, the number of Indian Christian pupils is small and very many pupils from other communities are admitted, but the staffs are by no means confined to those who profess the Christian faith It would probably be difficult to widen the basis of the committees of management of the schools and colleges managed by Christian and other agencies, as these institutions often belong to a larger organisation, which has a wider scope of social activity than education alone, but the management should be as representative as possible of all interests

It is also essential that there should be no undue competition or element of rivalry between these institutions, and that no unfair pressure should be placed on parents to send their children to them, and for this purpose it is necessary that the location of the schools should be wisely regulated Any spirit of antagonism would be fatal to the spirit by which they should be inspired

*Bombay Q R , page 206.

CHAPTER XIII.

Backward areas The need for a uniform advance.

1 Our attention has been drawn not only to the requirements of backward communities but to the requirements of special areas which, though not classified as 'backward tracts' are yet backward educationally, owing to the poverty of the people and of the local authorities In the majority of the provinces an educational policy has been followed which, though equitable at first sight, has in fact accentuated the educational differences between the wealthy and the poor districts, especially in respect of mass education The policy of these provinces has been to pay fixed statutory contributions from Government funds to local authorities, with additional grants for new approved expenditure, and these additional grants have been made subject to the condition that the local authorities should meet a fixed proportion of the total new expenditure It has been an inevitable result of these measures that while the progressive districts, owing to the comparative adequacy of their finances, are able to earn large contributions from Government, many backward districts cannot do so and have been neglected, with grave results We shall give a few illustrations of this point

2 The Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 provides that—

> "if the scheme [of compulsion] is sanctioned the Government shall bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme if the local authority is a municipality, and two-thirds of the said cost if the local authority is a district local board"

This section of the Act applies equally to the Presidency proper and to the backward areas of Sind In consequence, many districts in Sind which have been backward in the past through their poverty are progressing much more slowly than the wealthier districts in the Presidency through their inability to earn additional grants If these backward districts are to have opportunities of introducing schemes of compulsion equal to those of the wealthier districts, they should be required to contribute a smaller proportion of the funds required, and Government a larger proportion

Under the Madras Elementary Education Act of 1920, the local Government must contribute a sum not less than the proceeds of any education cess raised by local bodies Although the Act thus provides for the possibility of the local Government contributing more than 50 per cent of the total expenditure on new schemes, even the most backward areas must first resort to taxation before

they become entitled to any contribution from Government Actually, the great majority of the local bodies in Madras which have hitherto levied an education cess and which are in receipt of equivalent contributions from Government are located in the more advanced districts.

3 The failure to recognise the special needs of backward areas is not confined to the sphere of mass education In Madras—

> "the Government are not at present aiding or subsidising secondary education in the various districts in a manner which gives poorer districts preference over wealthy districts The grants-in-aid Code does not, at present, provide for preferential treatment being given to schools in poor and backward districts, but the system of giving subsidies has been such as to allow of special treatment to particular schools or localities though, in practice, wealthy districts have benefited almost as much as poor districts Not only are wealthy district boards contributing very little towards the cost of secondary education, but they are actually spending a smaller percentage of their revenues on secondary education than the poorer districts Furthermore, the cost to Government per pupil in local board schools in some of the wealthiest districts is greater than it is in some of the poorest districts" *

4 One remedy for the backwardness of mass education in poor areas is simple Bihar and the Punjab have adopted the principle of grading districts according to their poverty or prosperity, for the purpose of estimating the ratio of Government grants to funds raised locally for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education This principle gives a reasonable opportunity for the backward districts to keep in line with the advance made in more prosperous districts At any rate, the gap between the progressive and the backward districts is not being widened We should add that, even if this principle is adopted, it will be insufficient to develop mass education in the backward districts unless provision is made at the same time for the training of vernacular teachers in these areas, so as to recruit local teachers for the village schools We attach great importance to provision of this kind A training institution in a distant town, however efficient it may be, can make little appeal to young men living in rural areas

5 For the development of secondary education in backward areas, we have suggested in a previous chapter that publicly managed institutions should be established, or failing this, that the grant-in-aid rates should be so regulated as to give special assistance to privately managed high and middle schools in such

* Report on Secondary Education, 1927, page 10.

areas. By such means, facilities for secondary education would be distributed more equally between all parts of the province and for the benefit of all sections of the community

6 A well-considered and comprehensive policy for the assistance of the poor areas is needed It does not augur well for the future happiness and progress of India that vast areas of the country should be left far behind the standard of development reached in more fortunate ones, and that the present tendency in most provinces is to accentuate the gaps still further

7 Finally, it may be pointed out that the treatment of backward areas in the way we have suggested would, in some provinces and tracts, have the great advantage incidentally of going far to remove the disabilities of certain communities, without any resort to the reservations and special privileges discussed in previous chapters It was the adoption of such a policy that enabled the Punjab to raise the number of Muhammadan pupils from 160,000 in 1917 to 517,000 in 1921, without reservations in any school, and we believe, as we have already said, that such a policy would be equally successful in the backward areas of Sind

CHAPTER XIV.

The Financing of Education.

I – Financial resources and educational expenditure of the different provinces

1 **Provincial Revenues.**—Since the introduction of the Reforms Government aid to education has been given almost entirely from provincial revenues The following Table shows the extent of these revenues —

TABLE CIII

Total revenue (in lakhs) by provinces

Province and population (in millions)	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs
Madras (42 3)	1175	1518
Bombay (19 2)	1311	1458
Bengal (46 6)	832	1050
United Provinces (45 3)	1002	1139
Punjab (20 6)	710	1086
Burma (13 2)	918	1006
Bihar and Orissa (34 0)	443	574
Central Provinces (13 9)	472	507
Assam (7 6)	182	243

2 The revenue per head in the various provinces is as follows :—

TABLE CIV

Revenue per head by provinces

	1922.	1927
	Rs	Rs
Madras	2 7	3 5
Bombay	6 7	7·5
Bengal	1 7	2 2
United Provinces	2 2	2 8
Punjab	3 4	5 2
Burma	6·9	7 6
Bihar and Orissa	1·3	1 6
Central Provinces	3 3	3 6
Assam	2 4	3·2

3 It is clear from these Tables that the financial resources of the provinces are very unequal In proportion to the population the revenue per head in Burma is almost five times as large as in Bihar, and in Bombay it is more than three times as large as in Bengal

4 **Provincial expenditure on education.**—The next Table shows the direct and indirect provincial expenditure on education and its ratio to the provincial revenue

TABLE CV

Expenditure and percentage of total revenue spent on education

—	Government expenditure on education (in lakhs)		Percentage of total revenue spent on education	
	1922	1927	1922	1927
	Rs	Rs		
Madras . . .	158	202	13 4	13 3
Bombay . . .	170	199	12·9	13·6
Bengal	135	148	16 3	14 0
United Provinces . . .	156	196	15·5	17·2
Punjab . . .	87	151	12·2	13·9
Burma . .	46	95	5·0	9 4
Bihar and Orissa . . .	49	72	11 0	12 5
Central Provinces . .	51	72	10·8	14 2
Assam	22	25	12 0	10·2

5 Between 1922 and 1927 the percentage spent on education everywhere increased, except in Madras, Bengal and Assam

6 The next Table shows the Government expenditure on education per head of the population

TABLE CVI

Government expenditure on education per head

	1927 Rs
Madras	48
Bombay	1 02
Bengal	31
United Provinces	43
Punjab	73
Burma	72
Bihar and Orissa	21
Central Provinces	51
Assam	·33

Total expenditure on education —It should not be forgotten that Government expenditure forms only a part, in some provinces less than half, of the total expenditure on education, the remainder being provided from local board funds, fees and 'other sources'

The next Table shows the total expenditure on education per head

TABLE CVII

Total expenditure on education per head

—	1917	1922	1927.
	Rs	Rs.	Rs
Madras	52	·80	1 07
Bombay	79	1·53	1·97
Bengal	53	72	·85
United Provinces	31	66	74
Punjab	54	·92	1 39
Burma	55	77	1 46
Bihar and Orissa	·24	·34	·52
Central Provinces	36	·59	82
Assam	·38	·46	56

The variations are striking In Bombay, nearly four times as much per head is spent on education as in Bihar and Orissa and in the Punjab more than twice as much per head is spent as in Assam

8 In the next Table, an attempt is made to correlate these facts The following lists show the different provinces arranged in the order of magnitude of the items specified in the several headings

Revenue per head	Government educational expenditure per head	Population	Percentage ratio of Government educational expenditure to total revenue	Total educational expenditure per head
Burma	Bombay	Bengal	United Provinces	Bombay
Bombay	Punjab	United Provinces	Central Provinces	Burma
Punjab	Burma	Madras	Bengal	Punjab
Central Provinces	Central Provinces	Bihar	Punjab	Madras
Madras	Madras	Punjab.	Bombay	Bengal
Assam	United Provinces	Bombay	Madras	Central Provinces
United Provinces	Assam	Central Provinces	Bihar	United Provinces.
Bengal	Bengal	Burma	Assam	Assam
Bihar	Bihar	Assam	Burma	Bihar and Orissa

A province with a large revenue per head might be expected to spend more on education per head than a province with a small revenue The lists show that this expectation has, generally speaking been fulfilled It is perhaps significant, however, that the province with the highest revenue per head of population (Burma) spends the lowest percentage of total revenue on education

The lists also throw considerable light on the reasons why the amounts spent on education in the provinces vary so greatly, and on the financial position of the provinces generally in relation to educational progress. Burma, Bombay, and the Punjab have the highest revenue per head of population, they have the highest Government expenditure per head on education and they have the highest total expenditure per head on education On the other hand, Bihar, Bengal and the United Provinces have the lowest revenue per head of population, Bihar and Bengal show the lowest Government expenditure per head on education and Bihar shows the lowest total expenditure per head on education There is little difference between Madras, the Central Provinces and Assam in the revenue per head of population, but Assam spends considerably less on education per head of population, either from Government

sources or from all sources, than either Madras or the Central Provinces This fact is partly explained by the special characteristics of a large section of the population of the province which is scattered over hill and forest areas It is difficult to draw accurate deductions from the lists, but it would appear that, generally speaking, the provinces which are faced with the greatest financial difficulties in regard to educational development are Bihar, Bengal, Assam and the United Provinces.

9 **Sources of Expenditure on Education.**—The following Table shows the proportion spent from different sources on education in the provinces

TABLE CVIII

Provision for direct and indirect expenditure by sources expressed as percentages

Province	Government funds	Local funds	Total public funds	Fees	Other sources	Total direct and indirect educational expenditure (in lakhs)
						Rs
Madras	44 72	14 64	59 36	19 59	21 05	453
Bombay	51 9	18 7	70 6	17 4	12 0	383
Bengal	37 19	5 72	42 91	40 78	16 31	398
United Provinces	57 99	13 17	71 16	13 76	15 08	338
Punjab	52·55	14 36	66 91	20 00	13 09	288
Burma	49 09	18 06	67 15	17 72	15 13	194
Bihar and Orissa	40 69	27 95	68 64	18 42	12 94	177
Central Provinces	63 12	18 41	81 53	10 40	8 07	114
Assam	57 5	12 8	70 3	16 9	12 8	44

10 There are remarkable differences between the provinces in the extent to which the various sources contribute to educational expenditure Government finances education to the extent of 63 12 per cent in the Central Provinces, but only to the extent of 37 19 per cent in Bengal The total proportion spent from public funds is almost twice as much in the former province as in the latter Fees contribute proportionately more than twice as much in Bengal as in any other province In Madras, where missionary agencies play a large part in education, the percentage from 'other sources' is greatest

11 In every province except Bengal, public funds meet more than half the cost of education, in seven provinces more than two-thirds, and in one province more than four-fifths The comparatively small share of expenditure from public funds in Bengal may be partly accounted for by the large numbers of privately managed (and often unaided institutions) and by the fact that Bengal has not as yet passed a Primary Education Act applicable to rural areas.

12 **Expenditure on Different Branches of Education.**—The provinces differ strikingly also in the proportion spent on different branches of education, as the following Table shows —

TABLE CIX

Percentage of the total direct and indirect expenditure in 1927 allocated to different branches of education

Province	Direction and inspection	University education including arts and professional colleges	Secondary education	Primary education	Special institutions	Miscellaneous (building, equipment, hostel charges, scholarships, stipends, etc.)
Madras	3 7	9 7	19 8	37 7	9 8	19 3
Bombay	3 8	10 1	19 9	52 0	5 1	9 1
Bengal	3 9	22 2	32 3	17 0	8 1	16 5
United Provinces	3 9	16 6	23 0	24 9	5 4	26 2
Punjab	3 8	13 8	39 4	14 7	4 8	23 5
Burma	5 8	9 4	39 4	10 4	6 7	28 3
Bihar and Orissa	5 3	9 8	20 4	31 5	7 8	25 2
Central Provinces	4 8	7 1	23 9	28 7	5 0	30 5
Assam	7 5	8 5	29 9	25 5	4 3	24 3

13 In considering the variations in the percentages spent on the several branches of education in the provinces, it is necessary to remember that there must be considerable fluctuations from year to year, especially under 'Miscellaneous Expenditure' which includes large capital expenditure on buildings and equipment, that such fluctuations affect the percentages for the branches under other headings, that in Madras and Bombay higher elementary schools, which correspond to middle vernacular schools elsewhere, are classified as primary schools, that in the Punjab and Burma there are large numbers of middle vernacular schools classified as secondary, which provide primary instruction, and that in most

provinces the lower classes of secondary schools make considerable provision for primary instruction

It is noteworthy that in three provinces (Bengal, United Provinces and Burma) less than 50 per cent of the total money is spent as direct expenditure on primary and secondary education together In Bengal, the expenditure on primary schools is very low, and Bombay spends proportionately three times as much on primary education as Bengal Bengal, on the other hand, has the highest proportion of expenditure on university education, including arts and professional colleges The percentages spent on direction and inspection were approximately the same in five provinces, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces and the Punjab The order of these percentages for all the provinces was approximately the inverse order of the total provincial expenditure on education of those provinces Thus Assam had the lowest total expenditure and the highest percentage of expenditure on direction and inspection This is a result that was to be expected There are certain essential expenses of organisation which are approximately the same in all provinces whether the total expenditure is high or low

14 The next Tables show the percentages of expenditure from public funds, fees and other sources, on the various branches of education

TABLE CX

Provision of expenditure by sources on —

(a) *University and college education including arts and professional colleges*

Province.	Percentage of expenditure from				
	Government funds	Board funds	Municipal funds	Fees	Other sources
Madras . . .	47 78	·04	08	40 02	12 08
Bombay . . .	32 72	·12	5 03	47 43	14 70
Bengal	46·74	*Nil*	05	45 0	8 21
United Provinces .	58 65	17	19	23 86	17 13
Punjab . .	44 49	02	04	45·41	10 04
Burma . . .	79 08	*Nil*	*Nil*	11 70	9 22
Bihar and Orissa	66 30	*Nil*	*Nil*	33 53	17
Central Provinces .	74 74	*Nil*	*Nil*	22 51	2 75
Assam .	77·0	*Nil*	*Nil*	23·0	*Nil*

TABLE CX—*contd*

(b) *Secondary schools*

Province.	Percentage of expenditure from				
	Government funds	Board funds	Municipal funds	Fees	Other sources
Madras .	26 41	5 57	1 72	47 96	18 34
Bombay	30·54	·34	2 48	47 10	19 54
Bengal . .	19 47	2 55	·64	60 42	16 92
United Provinces	49 40	4 66	2·62	27 11	16 21
Punjab . .	45 45	10 49	3 06	30·32	10 68
Burma .	34 46	12 44	7 95	27·37	17 78
Bihar and Orissa	29·40	13 63	·40	44 03	12·54
Central Provinces	48 30	11 83	5·31	25 13	9 43
Assam . . .	47 48	8 00	1·14	34 45	8 93

(c) *Primary schools*

Province	Percentage of expenditure from				
	Government funds	Board funds	Municipal funds.	Fees.	Other sources.
Madras .	50 52	21·03	6 85	5 05	16 55
Bombay . .	61 25	7 39	21 08	2 55	7 73
Bengal . .	33 50	13 32	5 37	35 09	12 72
United Provinces .	68 87	17 56	7 78	2 72	3 07
Punjab . .	60·37	18 31	12 57	2·11	6·64
Burma	3·55	72 20	15 69	4 03	4·53
Bihar and Orissa .	2·72	58 70	4 50	18·51	15 57
Central Provinces .	56 46	19·51	12·91	3 0	8·12
Assam ..	60 28	24 06	1 88	·18	13·60

TABLE CX—*concld*

(d) *Vocational and special institutions*

Province	Percentage of expenditure from				
	Government funds	Board funds	Municipal funds	Fees	Other source.
Madras ..	66 63	1 25	31	3 57	28 24
Bombay .	60 32	95	5 32	13 18	20 23
Bengal ..	51 87	4 57	1 35	20 09	22 12
United Provinces ..	77 42	5 45	1 69	2 97	12 47
Punjab	82 56	2 69	1 35	7 19	6·21
Burma ..	93 52	*Nil*	*Nil*	1 14	5 34
Bihar and Orissa ..	70 69	·12	06	3 57	25 56
Central Provinces .	93 56	01	17	1 22	5 04
Assam	76·47	5 35	1 60	3 74	12 84

15 The following Table shows how the expenditure from Government funds is distributed among the different branches of education in the provinces —

TABLE CXI

Percentages of total Government expenditure on education allotted to different branches

Province	Universities, arts and professional colleges	Secondary schools	Primary schools	Special schools	Miscellaneous
Madras .	10 34	11 71	42 55	14 63	20 77
Bombay	6 35	11 43	61 23	6 33	14 66
Bengal .	27 87	16 87	15·30	11 34	28 62
United Provinces	16 75	19 63	29 64	7 03	26 95
Punjab ..	11 73	34 17	16 26	7 30	30 54
Burma ..	15 08	27 57	74	12 91	43 70
Bihar and Orissa .	15 86	13 12	2 10	17 24	51 68
Central Provinces	8 37	18 27	25 66	7 50	40 20
Assam .	11 39	24 70	26 73	5 67	31 51

16 The large figures under the heading 'Miscellaneous' include the cost of direction and inspection, which falls wholly on Government, and of buildings, equipment, scholarships, stipends, etc , of which Government bear a very large proportion In the returns from Burma and Bihar, the subsidies given by Government to local bodies (or other local education authorities) for vernacular education are not included, and this accounts for the low figures under the heading 'primary schools' Actually in Burma 31 2 per cent of the total Government expenditure is spent on vernacular education The Punjab shows the highest figure under 'secondary schools', but a large part of this is expenditure on middle vernacular schools and should really be shared between 'primary schools' and 'secondary schools' In Madras and Bombay the higher elementary schools, which correspond to middle vernacular schools elsewhere, are classified as primary

In *Bengal*, less than a sixth of the total Government expenditure goes to primary education In view of the unsatisfactory condition of primary education in Bengal, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory that a larger proportion of Government funds is spent on secondary education than on primary and that the proportion spent on collegiate education is nearly twice that spent on primary education The situation in the *United Provinces* is not unlike that in Bengal The urgent needs of mass education in these two provinces suggest that too large a proportion of Government funds is at present being spent on collegiate education We do not mean to undervalue the importance of university education and we do not suggest that the amount spent on university education in these provinces, each with a population of over 40 millions, has been in itself excessive, although we do not think that it has all been spent to the best advantage But it is difficult to justify a recurring expenditure by Government in Bengal of only Rs 22 64 lakhs on 1,741,500 pupils in primary schools as against Rs 41 24 lakhs on 30,450 students in colleges or even an expenditure by Government in the United Provinces of only Rs 58 07 lakhs on 1,092,960 pupils in primary schools as against Rs 32 81 lakhs on 12,710 students in colleges It is also to be remembered that in addition to the direct expenditure in Bengal and the United Provinces large sums were spent by Government on buildings and equipment for collegiate education

The responsibility of Government for mass education is very great and yet the foregoing Tables show that the percentage of total expenditure on collegiate education met from Government funds is higher in three provinces than the corresponding percentage for primary education Similarly, the percentage of the total expenditure on collegiate education met from other sources (subscriptions and endowments) is lower in five provinces than the corresponding percentage for primary education

17 The next Table shows the manner of the distribution of Government funds between institutions for males and institutions for females

TABLE CXII

Percentage of total Government expenditure on education allotted to institutions for boys and girls, respectively

Province	(1) Boys	(2) Girls	(3) Percentage ratio of (2) to (1)
Madras	67 18	12 06	18
Bombay	73 60	11 09	15
Bengal	62 54	8 86	14
United Provinces	67 96	5 20	8
Punjab	64 98	6 11	9
Burma	50 77	5 64	11
Bihar and Orissa	44 96	3 37	7
Central Provinces	55 27	5 44	10
Assam	62 28	6 23	10

In the chapter on girls' and women's education we have already commented on the great disparity between the amounts spent on boys' and on girls' education In considering the above figures, however, it must be remembered that over 50 per cent of the girls under instruction in Madras, Burma and Assam are reading in institutions for boys Leaving aside these provinces and even making allowances for social conditions, it is not without significance that in the United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar and the Central Provinces, where female literacy and the percentage of girls under instruction are lowest, the percentages of the total Government expenditure allotted to girls' education are also the lowest

18 **Average cost per school** —It is interesting to compare the average cost per school in the different provinces Such a comparison cannot be made with any approach to accuracy in respect of universities and arts colleges, owing to the manner in which the tables for educational expenditure are compiled, but it is illuminating for secondary and primary schools It must again be remembered that in Madras and Bombay the term secondary school covers only anglo-vernacular high and middle schools, that in the Punjab

and Burma there are large numbers of middle vernacular schools classified as secondary, and that in Bombay and the Central Provinces, there are no primary departments in high schools

TABLE CXIII

Average cost per school in 1927 by provinces

Province	Secondary		Primary	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Rs	Rs	Rs.	Rs
Madras .	13,917	12,807	308	814
Bombay ..	13,435	16,734	1,328	2,294
Bengal .	4,272	11,868	148	75
United Provinces	7,271	6,495	417	868
Punjab . .	3,959	8,207	592	596
Burma .	4,773	8,050	414	640
Bihar and Orissa .	4,456	7,851	186	172
Central Provinces .	4,630	3,428	695	1,053
Assam .	3,304	4,656	233	235

19 The small annual cost of a girls' primary school in Bengal is remarkable The explanation is, as we have already pointed out, that many of the Bengal girls' schools are run as a subsidiary industry by the teachers of boys' schools Generally speaking, however, girls' schools are more expensive than boys' schools for reasons which we have already explained in another chapter

20 Schools under public management as a rule, pay the largest salaries and, in consequence, are usually more expensive than privately managed schools, as the following Table shows —

TABLE CXIV

Average cost of boys' primary schools according to types of management, in 1927

Province.	Board schools	Aided schools	Unaided schools
	Rs	Rs	Rs
Madras	547	214	61
Bombay	1,454	749	915
Bengal	267	114	61
United Provinces	487	178	240
Punjab .	646	409	163
Burma	1,333	410	
Bihar and Orissa . .	403	182	57
Central Provinces . .	709	630	358
Assam .	250	220	100

21 **Average cost per pupil.**—The following Table shows the average cost per pupil —

TABLE CXV

Average annual cost per pupil in 1927

—	Secondary schools.		Primary schools	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Rs	Rs.	Rs	Rs
Madras .	46 1	72 0	7 2	12·6
Bombay	68 7	115·7	19·2	26·0
Bengal .. .	29 8	76 0	4·0	3·2
United Provinces	48 6	54 9	7 6	10 7
Punjab	21 2	45 6	8 9	11 9
Burma	38 6	57 5	7 8	12·4
Bihar and Orissa ..	30 6	54 6	5 8	7 3
Central Provinces	27 9	35 2	10·8	16·7
Assam . ..	24 6	40 9	5 1	6 9

22 The differences are remarkable Five times as much is spent to educate a boy and eight times as much to educate a girl in a primary school in Bombay as is spent in Bengal But, apart from the average enrolment, number of teachers, and pay, which all affect the average cost, the differences may be partly explained by the different distribution of pupils in the primary stage In primary schools which include Classes IV and V, the average cost of equipment is higher than a school which includes only the lower classes Only 7 9 per cent of the pupils in the primary stage in Bengal are in Classes IV and V and many of these are in the primary departments of secondary schools, in Bombay, the corresponding percentage is 25 3, and almost all are in primary schools The apparent economy in Bengal really conceals much inefficiency in the system

II.—Methods of financing Mass Education

23 One of the most important and difficult financial problems which the provincial Governments have had to face in recent years has been the financing of mass education and compulsion In the majority of the provinces in which Elementary Education Acts have been passed, power has been given to local authorities to levy an education cess, and the manner and extent of provincial contributions have been prescribed

In *Madras*, any local authority in whose area the Elementary Education Act of 1920 is brought into force has the power to levy a tax not exceeding 25 per cent of the taxation leviable under any or all of the following heads if the local authority is a municipality, property tax, tax on companies and profession tax if the local authority is a local board, land cess, tax on companies, profession tax and house-tax To the amounts so levied, Government must contribute at least an equal sum and, in addition, the amount of recurring expenditure incurred from provincial funds on education in elementary schools under public management in the area during the financial year before the Act came into force

Schools under private management are, in each district, aided by the district educational council from funds placed at its disposal for the purpose by Government

Under the Act, no fees are to be charged in any elementary school in any area where education is declared to be compulsory, provided that the local authority shall compensate private managements for the resulting loss of income

In *Bombay*, the Primary Education Act of 1923 provides that if compulsion is introduced by any municipality or local board the Government shall bear half of the additional recurring and non-recurring annual cost of the scheme if the local authority is a municipality, and two-thirds of the cost if the local authority is a local board In addition, Government normally grants to each local authority a sum not less than the annual grant paid prior to the application of the Act No fees may be levied, after the introduction of compulsion, in schools maintained by the local authorities

In *Bengal*, the Primary Education Act of 1919 empowers municipalities to levy a cess, in a manner to be prescribed by Government, amounting to the sum required

for primary schools, after deducting the Government grant, the school receipts and other sources of income. No rules are laid down as to the proportion of the subsidy for which Government are liable Any municipality which makes primary education compulsory can remit the whole or part of the fees of poor pupils The Act may also apply to union boards if the local Government think fit

The *United Provinces* Primary Education Act of 1919 makes provision for the imposition of an education cess by any municipality in which primary education is declared to be compulsory A municipality may, for the purpose of the education cess select any of the taxes which it is authorised to impose or may increase any tax already levied No fees are to be charged in municipal schools in compulsory areas By rules made under the Act, Government have undertaken to contribute two-thirds of the additional cost involved, including the loss due to remission of fees and the total additional cost of raising the salaries of teachers to the minimum level prescribed The total Government contribution, however, may not exceed 60 per cent of the total cost of primary education in a municipality

The District Boards Primary Education Act of 1926 does not give district boards the power to levy a special education cess But Government bear two-thirds (or more in the case of boards previously receiving from Government less than two-thirds of the prescribed minimum expenditure) of the extra recurring cost of compulsory schemes No fees are levied in district board schools in compulsory areas or in any school from boys compelled to attend school Government give a lump general grant to each board, prescribing a minimum amount which must be provided for middle vernacular schools, ordinary primary schools, Islamia schools and maktabs, schools for the depressed classes and for girls respectively

In the *Punjab*, the Primary Education Act of 1919 empowered the local authority of any area in which compulsion was applied to raise money by special taxation Such taxation may take the Form of the imposition of any tax already legally leviable, or the enhancement of any existing tax, or a special education cess payable by all or any of the persons resident or owning property in the area No fees are charged in any local board school in areas in which compulsion

has been introduced, and compensation for loss of fee income must be paid by the local authority to privately managed schools, if demanded The Act does not prescribe the contributions to be made by Government, but, in practice, local authorities are graded by Government in respect of their financial position and capacity, and grants are assessed in accordance with the grading of each authority

The *Bihar and Orissa* Primary Education Act, 1919, empowers municipalities and union boards which apply compulsion to levy an education cess The education cess in municipalities is a percentage, not exceeding thirty three and a third, of the maximum tax or rate which can be imposed on owners or occupiers of property In union boards it is a percentage, not exceeding fifty, of the assessment imposed under the Local Self-Government Act No fees can be charged in areas in which the cess is levied For purposes of receiving subsidies from Government district boards are divided into three classes Class I comprising boards with a cess income of less than Rs 150 per thousand of the population, Class II, those with an income of not more than Rs 250 per thousand of the population, and Class III, the remainder The grants are two annas per head for boards in Class I, 1¼ annas for those in Class II and 1½ annas for the rest The rules for municipalities are calculated on two scales, one for those which have introduced compulsory education and one for those that have not For municipalities which have introduced compulsion, the recurring grant admissible is limited to two-thirds of the cost of educating 10 per cent of the male population of the municipality as recorded at the previous Census, at Rs 8 a head, and the municipality is required to find from its own funds half as much as is paid by Government For municipalities which have not introduced compulsion, the recurring grant admissible is limited to the sum given in 1922-23, or half the cost of educating 5 per cent of the male population of the municipality as recorded at the previous Census, at Rs 8 a head, whichever is greater, and, as a condition of any increase in the grant sanctioned for 1922-23, the municipality is required to find from its own funds as much as is paid by Government and to spend on primary education not less than 5 per cent of its ordinary income. In areas in which an education cess has been

levied no fees may be charged in any recognised primary school

The *Central Provinces* Primary Education Act of 1920 makes no provision for the levy of any education cess Rules may be framed under the Act prescribing the proportions in which the cost of providing primary education shall be divided between the local authorities and Government No fees are levied in any area in which compulsion has been introduced and schools under private management are compensated by the local authorities for the loss of fee income

The *Assam* Primary Education Act, 1926, provides that in any area where compulsion is introduced on the initiative of a municipality or local board, the local authority shall, without diminishing its current expenditure on primary education, provide one-third of the additional cost involved and shall for this purpose ordinarily levy an education cess, the local Government bearing the remaining two-thirds But where compulsion is introduced on the initiative of the local Government, the local Government is to bear two-thirds of the cost No fees are to be charged in any school maintained or aided by the local authority in compulsory areas

III —Estimates of total cost of compulsory education

24 The above details have shown the extent to which and the manner in which mass education is financed by Government and local bodies in the different provinces But it is noteworthy that in several provinces the resources of Government have proved unequal to the payment of their statutory contribution and applications from local bodies for the extension of compulsion have had to be refused or postponed on the ground of financial stringency In Bombay, in particular, many schemes for the introduction of compulsion have been held in abeyance owing to the inability of the local Government to provide their statutory contributions

25 Calculations have been made in several provinces of the ultimate recurring cost of universal compulsory primary education In Madras, two official estimates have been made in recent years, one of which estimated the recurring cost to public funds at Rs 7½ crores and the other at Rs 6¼ crores, taking Rs 8 as the average cost per male pupil and Rs 13 per female pupil In Bengal, the special report of Mr E E Biss

estimated the cost at Rs 177 lakhs recurring, and a later official estimate amounted to a recurring expenditure of Rs 2 crores on the basis of an average salary of Rs 15 per teacher. The latest estimate from Bengal, in the Note on the Development of Primary Education in Bengal under the proposed Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill, is a recurring cost of Rs 240 lakhs, at an average of Rs 8 per boy per year, including provision for the training of teachers, provident fund, etc This estimate does not include compulsion for all girls of school-going age A rough estimate from Burma amounts to about Rs 2½ crores, at an average of Rs 2 per head of the population or Rs 14 per pupil.

26 The population of school-going age in British India is estimated at about 34½ millions. At present, there are approximately 7,160,000 boys and 1,682,000 girls reading at the primary stage There are thus about 10,302,000 boys and 15,136,000 girls of school-going age who are not in school and for whom provision must be made The average direct cost of educating a boy in a primary school is at present about Rs 8 The recurring cost of educating 10⅓ million boys at Rs 8 per head would be about Rs 8 3 crores But it is not possible, even under compulsion, to expect more than 80 per cent of the boys of school-going age to attend school Some boys will receive instruction elsewhere than in the ordinary schools, many others will be exempted from attendance for one reason or another, and it would obviously be both extravagant and impracticable to apply compulsion to areas in which the population is extremely scattered If 80 per cent. of the boys of school-going age are brought under instruction, then, on a flat rate of Rs 8 a head, the additional cost would be approximately Rs 6½ crores

An estimate can be made in another way by assuming, that one additional teacher will be required for every 35 pupils of the additional 8 million to be provided for If these additional teachers are paid on the average Rs 25 a month the additional cost would approximate to Rs 7 crores.

The average direct cost of educating a girl in a primary school is at present about Rs 11 The recurring cost of educating 15 million girls at Rs 11 per head would be Rs 16 5 crores If 80 per cent of the girls of school-going age were brought under instruction then on a flat rate of Rs 11 a head the additional cost would be approximately 13 crores On this basis and that of our first estimate for boys given above, the total recurring cost of bringing 80 per cent of all boys and girls of school-going age under instruction would be approximately Rs 19 5 crores

27 It is obvious, however, that estimates based either on the present average cost per pupil or on the additional number of

teachers required, allotting 35 new pupils to each teacher, need careful scrutiny On the one hand, it is to be remembered that in some provinces the salaries of the existing teachers are inadequate and will need improvement (though the cost of such improvement will only be incurred gradually, since higher scales of pay would ordinarily be applicable only to new recruits with approved qualifications) On the other hand, there are, as we have shown, extravagances in the present system which would tend to disappear under a system of compulsion The causes of this extravagance are the ill-devised distribution of schools and the small number of pupils in the higher classes, which imply in many cases the presence of a teacher for a much smaller number of pupils than he would have under a compulsory system Under compulsion, with the increased attendance, a teacher who is now employed in teaching a mere handful of pupils in one or more classes will be teaching 35 pupils without any extra recurring expenditure The introduction of compulsion should be regarded as an economical and effective means of filling up the present poorly attended upper classes of primary schools The increased enrolment and regular promotion of pupils from class to class will necessarily tend to lower the average cost per pupil With the increase in average enrolment, the total additional number of teachers required will be considerably less than is usually anticipated

28 Though the present average number of pupils per teacher in girls' primary schools is as high as 36, in boys' primary schools it is only 25 If this average could be raised to 35 over 2,800,000 additional pupils would be provided for without the necessity for additional staff This would mean a reduction of over Rs 2 crores in the estimate already given Again, large numbers of girls are reading, and will read, in boys' schools, so that the estimate given above for bringing all girls under compulsion is also too high in this respect Though the pay of the existing teachers will have to be raised, improvement must necessarily be gradual and improved conditions of service would ordinarily be applied only to new recruits with better qualifications Taking all these factors into account and making full allowance for a considerable increase in the recurring expenditure on inspection and training, we think that the estimate of Rs 19 5 crores recurring is not likely to be exceeded and may even be reduced In addition to this expenditure there will, of course, be a heavy capital expenditure on buildings and equipment But the total sum to be raised is not abnormally large and with a well-devised programme, spread over a period of years, the goal of almost universal compulsion should be within the reach of at least the wealthier provinces of British India It may not be within the reach of all the provinces and we shall discuss this possibility in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

Control and Devolution : Government of India.

I —Relations with Provincial Governments

1 The relations between the Government of India and provincial Governments in pre-Reform days were discussed at length in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms That Report emphasises the powers which the Government of India possessed, and in varying degrees exercised in the control of provincial legislation, finance and administration. Indeed, in one passage referring to the principle that the Government of India is one and indivisible, it says* "from this point of view the Local Governments are literally the agents of the Government of India". The Report recognised that in view of the existing arrangements a central control over provincial expenditure was "not merely justifiable but inevitable" † The codes of instructions also imposed "definite restraints upon the powers of provincial Governments to create new appointments or to raise emoluments"‡ and this brought the Government of India into close touch with the domestic administration of the provinces All new proposals for expenditure over and above a given sum required the previous sanction of the Government of India, and for proposals involving an expenditure below that sum sanction was still required if an appointment to the Indian Educational Service was involved It was incumbent on provincial Governments to submit for the previous sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State all projects for educational legislation before introduction Moreover, the universities were subject to the several University Acts which had been passed from time to time by the Central Legislature, and therefore all amendments to those Acts were subject to the same authority, while legislation for the creation of new universities, as at Dacca, was introduced by the Government of India

Such, in brief, were the powers of control over Education among other public services which were possessed by the Government of India up to the date of the Reforms The extent to which they were exercised depended much on the nature of the times and on the personality of those in authority A sharp conflict in respect of certain changes affecting the educational staff in Bombay arose in 1913 between the Government of that province and the Government of India §

* Para. 120 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report
† *Loc cit* para 109
‡ *Loc cit* para. 112
§ *Loc cit* para 90

2 The Government of India were not only concerned with administration but with general policy The Report also pointed out that "in the past the Government of India have regarded themselves as distinctly charged with the duty of framing policy and inspiring reforms for the whole of India "*

In the early days, occasion was taken from time to time to enunciate an educational policy by means of despatches from the Court of Directors and from the Secretary of State, and of Resolutions of the Government of India, the more important of which were published in 1835, 1839, 1854, 1859 and 1884, and such statements of policy were sometimes preceded by the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry such as the Hunter Commission in 1882

At the beginning of the century Lord Curzon directed special attention to the needs of education A review was made of the whole educational position, and the decisions arrived at were embodied in a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council dated 11 March, 1904 Lord Curzon then appointed a new officer, Mr (now Sir Hugh) Orange, to be "Director-General of Education" at the headquarters of the Government of India "to see that the new energy suddenly infused into the system was well-maintained and well-directed towards the chosen ends" Lord Curzon left India in 1904, and Mr Orange left in 1909 In 1910, Lord Minto and Lord Morley took steps to improve the organisation of the Government of India by transferring education from the Home Department to a new Department of Education, the main duties of which were to control the development of education and local self-government The Member in Charge of the new Department was Sir Harcourt Butler, who was succeeded in turn by Sir Sankaran Nair in 1915, and by Sir Muhammad Shafi in 1919 The first Secretaries in the Department were the late Sir Ludovic Porter I C S , who was in charge of Local Self-Government, and Mr (now Sir Henry) Sharp, I E S , who was in charge of Education In 1915, when Sir Edward Maclagan, I C S , was appointed Secretary, Mr Sharp accepted the new post of Educational Commissioner In 1921, Mr Sharp again became the Secretary and Mr J A Richey, I E S , was appointed the Educational Commissioner A prominent feature of the new department was the Bureau of Education whose main functions were to publish Occasional Reports on educational matters in addition to the annual and quinquennial reviews, to collect and to circulate valuable information regarding educational development in India and elsewhere, and to build up an educational library

3 The Resolutions on Indian Educational Policy issued by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1904 and 1913, and the numerous circulars issued by the Government of India between 1906 and

* Para 118 of the Montagu Chelmsford Report

1920, shew that by these means and by means of the numerous conferences of provincial educational officers (which generally preceded the decisions promulgated in the Resolutions and circulars), the Government of India endeavoured to exercise considerable influence and even control over educational policy in India as a whole Their Resolutions and circulars show that the Government of India were alive to many of the weaknesses of the system of education in all its branches and to the necessity of encouraging or counteracting some of the tendencies on which we have commented in the course of our Review The circulars issued between 1906 and 1920 dealt with subjects as varied as the improvement of primary and vernacular education, the abolition of fees in primary schools, the training of primary and secondary school teachers, the improvement of secondary education, the education of Muhammadans, the education of girls and women, the education of factory children, text-book committees, educational literature, the Boy Scout movement and the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission Particular stress was laid on the necessity of a definite policy for the development of vernacular education In the Resolution of 1913, it was recommended that lower primary schools should be developed into upper primary schools, that reliance should not be placed upon "venture schools" unless, by subjecting themselves to suitable management and to inspection, they earned recognition, that middle vernacular schools should be improved and multiplied, that teachers should be drawn from the same class as the boys whom they will teach, and that a minimum pay should be laid down for trained teachers In a circular on vernacular education issued in 1911, it was suggested that teachers for rural schools should be recruited from rural areas and that no teacher should be called upon to instruct more than 50 pupils, that preferably the number should be 30 or 40, and that the ideal system was to have a separate teacher for each class or standard The circular on primary education issued in 1913 pointed out that no large expansion was possible without a considerable increase of training facilities and stated that the Government of India regarded the improvement and development of middle vernacular schools as of great importance, particularly since the training classes for primary teachers largely depended on pupils coming from middle vernacular schools The circular issued in May 1918, drew prominent attention to the existence of the large wastage between class and class in primary schools and suggested *inter alia* that better qualified and better paid teachers should be employed in primary schools and that efficient teachers should be placed in charge of the infant classes

4 The Government of India was also in a position to reinforce its directions and exhortations by financial assistance It made

periodical grants, ear-marked "for the purpose of pushing on some particular feature" of the policy advocated by it The Montagu-Chelmsford Report does not " doubt that these outbursts of creative activity have been beneficial, and have contributed to the admitted efficiency of the machine But official inspirations from above have as a side consequence certainly increased the disposition to intervene in provincial details The Government of India have not been content to set the ball rolling they have insisted on watching its pace and course*" The criticism implied in this passage is characteristic of the Report, but many of the features in the provincial systems of education on which we have commented suggest that it might have been better for India if the intervention of the Central Government had been more effective than it was in fact

5 In a circular issued in July, 1911, the Government of India stated that " considering that it is of pressing and imperial importance to break down illiteracy in India and to improve and extend existing systems of primary instruction the Governor-General in Council desires to assist local Governments with grants for these objects so far as funds permit ", and during the following two years a non-recurring grant of Rs 84 lakhs and a recurring grant of Rs. 50 lakhs† was distributed among the provinces In 1918, again, the Government of India made a recurring grant to the provinces of Rs 30 lakhs to be utilised for both recurring and non-recurring objects connected with the primary education of boys and girls, including the inspection of primary schools and the training of teachers Altogether between the years 1913 and 1917, the Government of India distributed educational grants from imperial funds amounting to Rs 329 lakhs non-recurring, and Rs 124 lakhs recurring The procedure in respect of these grants was that each province submitted proposals indicating the lines on which it proposed to spend additional money and the amount required for the purpose, and that the Government of India, after considering these proposals in relation to each other, distributed the money available in the manner which seemed to it most equitable It is a matter for regret that effective steps were not taken to ensure that the educational policy outlined by the Government of India was carried out in the expenditure of the grants

6 It is clear that during all these years in which Resolutions and circulars were issued the Government of India were keenly alive to the need for an all-India policy in the matter of public education, and that they had constantly under consideration programmes of expansion in primary education By the end of 1918, the Government of India had formulated a scheme of expansion for the whole of India, by which there would have been a general

* Para 118 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report
† See Chapter II, para 16

compulsion on all local bodies throughout the country to provide facilities for the extension of primary education, so as to double the number of pupils in primary schools within ten years. It was proposed that towards the cost the Imperial Government should find one-third, provincial Governments one-third and local bodies one-third The cost of training additional teachers was to be divided between the Government of India and the provincial Governments In view, however, of the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms the direction and financing of this scheme by the Government of India had to be abandoned and the Government of India were prevented by the constitutional position from giving further direction or financial help to the provinces

7 On the inception of the Reforms, all control and responsibility for provincial education were transferred to the newly appointed Ministers The transition from the old to the new régime was sudden, and the Ministers did not receive the advice, guidance and encouragement which provincial Governments had previously received from the Government of India, and which had to some extent served to co-ordinate their efforts to deal with common problems Immediately after the Reforms there were hopeful indications that the Government of India still desired to help the provincial Governments, and early in 1921 a "Central Advisory Board" was constituted The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India was chairman, and it included a number of eminent educationists, official and non-official, from the provinces. The Board was a body which might have been of real assistance to Ministers in framing a policy suited to advancing India, and to whom complex problems could be submitted for advice We understand that it used to meet some three or four times in the year, that its proceedings were circulated, and that its advice and guidance were appreciated by many of the provinces At the same time, the Bureau of Education, to whose fruitful labours reference has already been made, continued and expanded its activities. But, in 1923, in a time of financial stress, the Board was abolished without even a reference to provincial Governments as to the advisability of its continuance, and the Bureau of Education was closed We cannot but regret that these institutions, which gave good promise of usefulness, were sacrificed in pursuance of a policy of retrenchment in order to save a total recurring expenditure of only a few thousand rupees Even the post of Educational Commissioner was for a time in jeopardy, and the financial objections to its continuance were only overcome by imposing on that officer the additional burden of being the Superintendent of Education for Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, a device which, in our opinion, has been of advantage neither to the Department of Education nor to these directly administered areas

The policy of retrenchment was further responsible for combining the Department of Education and Health in the Government of India with the Department of Revenue and Agriculture *

8. We have already referred to the stimulating conferences of educationists, particularly those of Directors of Public Instruction, which were a prominent feature of the pre-Reform days Since the inception of the Reforms, there has been only a single conference of Directors of Public Instruction besides a conference of Ministers and Directors held in 1928 to consider a number of important matters There was also a Universities Conference in 1924, which resulted in the constitution of an Inter-University Board The Government of India have continued to publish a certain number of educational reports and pamphlets, but their influence on the formation and execution of educational policy in India has practically disappeared

9 We regret the disappearance of that influence, for although, as we have pointed out, the Reforms have favoured the expansion of education, much of that expansion has been on ill-considered lines and neglectful of the proposals made by the Government of India previously to the Reforms, notably in regard to the best method of provision for vernacular education and increased provision for the education of women

10 In our opinion and in the opinion of a number of our witnesses, the advice of a Central Bureau of Education on a number of matters would be of great value to the provinces Education is a subject in which fresh advances are being constantly made and India cannot afford to remain behind other countries in educational progress New and more efficient methods of teaching are constantly being introduced all over the world, there is an important literature of books and periodicals and official educational circulars, etc, which every province cannot be expected to provide, but to which the educational authorities of the provinces should have access Moreover, it is essential that each province should be kept constantly in touch with the experience and progress of other provinces The Annual Review published by the Government of India and the Quinquennial Review are quite insufficient for the purpose

We think that the growth of education in India would be materially assisted if an efficient central organisation, which might be termed the Bureau of Education, were re-established with the Government of India, of which the functions would be to give information and advice to the provincial administrations and to keep them in close touch with each other

The Bureau should be provided with the funds necessary to maintain an educational library properly equipped with educational

* The combined Department is now termed the Department of Education Health and Lands

books and periodicals, Indian, English and foreign, and with official educational circulars of importance, of which a subject catalogue would be kept up to date, as was done formerly No such library exists in India at present although the Secretariat Library in Simla contains a nucleus of educational works It would need an initial capital grant and an adequate recurring grant

The Bureau would continue to issue educational publications from time to time on problems of interest to India, and it should have the means to send educational experts abroad to investigate such problems

11 The post of Educational Commissioner should be retained and the Educational Commissioner should be the head of the Bureau of Education and should be a touring officer It seems to us inadvisable that he should be directly responsible for the administration of education in Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara He should, as heretofore, be responsible for the preparation of the Annual and Quinquennial Reviews of Education, and he should be assisted by a competent statistician, trained in modern methods of statistics

12 The Advisory Board should be reconstituted under the chairmanship of the Educational Commissioner and should meet not less than twice a year The proceedings of the Board should be circulated to the provincial Governments

13 The Government of India should summon regularly conferences of Education Secretaries and Directors of Public Instruction to discuss current matters of importance, and special conferences on educational matters as they might be required

14 We have made it clear in the preceding paragraphs that we regard it as of importance that the Imperial Government should keep itself informed as to the condition of education throughout India, and should be a source of educational information and educational ideas for the provinces, but we think that its duties in the matter of education go further It is concerned directly with the educational qualifications of the electorates for the legislatures and is therefore interested in taking steps to ensure that there should be compulsory primary education throughout India at the earliest possible moment We have little doubt that the provincial Governments will do their best to promote universal primary education within the limited means at their disposal We are not in a position to form an estimate of those means, but there is at least a probability that some of the provinces will be unable to finance compulsory primary education from their own revenues We therefore think that constitutional means should be devised to enable the Imperial Government to come to their aid and that the Government of India should not continue to be divested of all power to make central

grants to provincial Governments for mass education. In England special measures are taken to finance the education of necessitous areas and we think it desirable in the interests of British India as a whole that similar means should be taken in this country

15. We do not suggest that either the main responsibilities for, or the control of, education should be re-transferred from the provinces to the central Government On the contrary, we hold that the conditions vary so much from province to province, that money on education will probably be spent more usefully if each province is mainly responsible for its educational policy On the other hand, it is clear that if the Government of India assist a province in the matter of education they should have the right to assure themselves that the money so granted is spent properly for the purpose for which it is ear-marked This would not imply, in our judgment, detailed inspection and control, but it would imply periodical reports from officers of the Imperial Government, deputed for the purpose We have shown that the money spent in some provinces on primary education has been, to a large extent, wasted There is no reason why the Government of India in making grants for mass education should not take measures to assure itself that such waste is not perpetuated

II —The Directly Administered Areas

16 At the time of handing over the control of education to responsible ministers in the provinces the Government of India retained under their immediate control, and subject to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, all education in what are known as the Directly Administered Areas These areas in 1921 comprised the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, Bangalore, and other minor areas such as Secunderabad and Aden Coorg ceased to be a directly administered area in 1924 when the Governor-General in Council extended to that area the provision of the Government of India Act relating to Legislative Councils of Lieutenant Governors and a local Legislature was constituted

17 In several of these areas conditions are peculiarly unfavourable to the spread of education In Baluchistan, for example, the population is sparse and scattered, large sections are nomadic and do not live in settled villages, and poverty is even more pressing and widespread than in other parts of India In portions of the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan, the majority of the population have at present little belief in the value or need of education, and this is specially true of the large Pathan element But the slow progress made cannot be attributed in all cases to

apathy or the absence of the demand for education, since our evidence shows that in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan pupils are constantly being refused admission into the schools owing to the inadequacy of the provision Ajmer-Merwara consists of scattered and thinly populated areas

18 But after making allowances for these hindrances, a survey of the growth of education in the directly administered areas does not reveal any marked advance, either in the initiation of any new large policy of expansion or in the full utilisation of the existing system, nor in many respects has the growth been even so satisfactory as in the neighbouring provinces, in spite of the fact that the directly administered areas have been under the control of the Government of India

19 The beginning of the last quinquennium was characterised by retrenchment How relentlessly the policy of retrenchment was applied may be gathered from the fact that, in the North-West Frontier Province alone, within two years the expenditure from Government funds was reduced by nearly two lakhs, 125 primary schools were closed, one of the two posts of circle inspector was abolished, the junior anglo-vernacular training class for men was closed, all the three training classes for men attached to the Government high schools were abolished, the only normal school for the training of women was given up and grants-in-aid were generally reduced The retrenchment was not only rigorous but sometimes inconsiderate, since, for example, the Normal School for Women at Peshawar was closed without previous warning and even before the students had completed their course of training

20 A few illustrations will be sufficient to show that progress in some of the directly administered areas has not been rapid or satisfactory under the present system of control Whatever may be said of the other areas, the province of Delhi, at any rate, does not suffer from any special disabilities And yet, in Delhi, the rate of growth has been considerably slower than in the adjacent province of the Punjab Between 1922 and 1927, the number of educational institutions in Delhi increased by 26 3 per cent , in the Punjab by 75 per cent The increase in the number of pupils in Delhi was only 64 per cent , as compared with 96 per cent in the Punjab The proportion of pupils to the total population in the Punjab increased, during the same period, from 2 7 to 5 3, but in Delhi only from 3 1 to 5 0 Of the total expenditure on education, in 1927, the Government contributed 52 6 per cent in the Punjab, as against 44 5 per cent in Delhi *

21. Educationally, Ajmer-Merwara is connected with the United Provinces and may therefore be compared with them Of the total expenditure on education, direction and inspection absorbed

* We have discussed the University of Delhi in Chapter VI, para 10.

nearly 4 per cent in the United Provinces, but only 2 4 per cent. in Ajmer-Merwara As whole-time officers for an area with 200 institutions, there were in 1927 only one assistant superintendent of education and one sub-deputy inspector of schools, there is no woman inspector of any kind and the percentage of girls under instruction is only 0 76 In the United Provinces, the percentage is, however, even lower (0 55) In the United Provinces, in 1927, the ratio of male pupils to the population was 4 88 per cent., in Ajmer-Merwara only 3 92 per cent Nor, if we compare the growth between 1922 and 1927, is the position any better

We give below the percentages of increase in the number of primary and of secondary schools and of their enrolment between the years 1922 and 1927.

	Percentage increase in primary schools for boys	Percentage increase in number of pupils
Ajmer Merwara	9 7	15 2
United Provinces	21 4	31 8
	Percentage increase in secondary schools for boys	Percentage increase in number of pupils
Ajmer Merwara	*Nil*	25 8
United Provinces	7 3	37 8

The provincial contribution to the total expenditure on secondary education in the United Provinces in 1927 was 51 3 per cent , in Ajmer-Merwara 43 4 per cent The total amount spent on education from Government revenues in Ajmer-Merwara between 1922 and 1927 actually declined from Rs 3 95 lakhs to Rs 2 85 lakhs. At almost every point, Ajmer-Merwara has advanced more slowly than the United Provinces

22 A five year programme of expansion was formulated by the Government of India in 1927 The new programme will no doubt do much to increase facilities for education, but it is unfortunate that the programme should in part aim only at restoring by 1932 the provision which actually existed ten years previously In view of the backwardness of most of the directly administered areas a more liberal policy might have been adopted There are, however, indications that the Legislative Assembly is becoming more alive to the needs of the areas directly administered by the Government of India. The introduction of compulsion in a number of wards of Delhi city and the appointment of a committee to enquire into the state of mass education in all these areas are welcome signs of new activity

CHAPTER XVI.

Control and Devolution : Provincial Governments.

I —Provincial Headquarters

1. We have shown in the preceding chapter how the main responsibilities for education have been transferred since the Reforms to the provincial Governments In the present chapter, we sketch in outline the organisation available to a provincial Government for the construction and the exposition of an educational policy, and the agencies for its execution, and we also discuss certain important points relating to the actual working of this organisation and its agencies

2 **Ministers** —The Minister for Education in each province is now responsible for controlling educational policy and directing its execution

We desire at this stage to make it clear that our criticisms of the educational system, as it is, should not be interpreted as a condemnation of the work of Ministers or as implying that they personally are largely to blame for the defects So far as we have been able to judge, they have shown themselves zealous for the advancement of education—particularly of primary and rural education—and some of them have shown marked ability in dealing with the practical problems before them They have inherited many defects in the present system as a legacy from pre-reform days Though it was no doubt the business of provincial Governments to remedy these defects, circumstances in most provinces have not been favourable for a bold policy of reform The political situation has been disturbed, and the tenure of office by Ministers has been comparatively short and often uncertain In the eight years since the introduction of the Reforms, the United Provinces have had six Ministers for Education, Bombay has had four, Madras, the Punjab, Bihar and Assam have each had three In Bengal and the Central Provinces, where the political unrest has been most serious, there have been long periods during which there have been no Ministers for Education and the ministerial responsibilities for this subject had to be placed on other shoulders The aggregate of these periods was three and a half years in Bengal and two in the Central Provinces ; and during the remainder of the period under survey Bengal had three Ministers for Education and the Central Provinces two

In many provinces, the position has been so unstable that Ministers have been liable to an adverse vote at any moment In a parliamentary system of government, Ministers must necessarily depend on the support of a majority of the Legislative Council, but it is unfortunate for the cause of education, with which we are alone concerned, when political circumstances make that majority

uncertain One witness who had been an Education Minister told us that, although he was by no means satisfied with the educational policy of his predecessors, he took no steps to modify it because he knew not the hour of his downfall

3 Again, the Ministers began their work in a time of financial stringency arising out of post-war conditions Moreover, they have had to contend with other difficulties In consequence of the expansion of the powers of local bodies and of the devolution on many of them of the larger measure of responsibility in respect of vernacular education which accompanied the Reforms, that branch of education has been taken to a great extent out of the control of Ministers and of the provincial legislatures This matter we shall discuss later

4 The functions of the Minister, of the Secretary to Government for Education, and of the Director of Public Instruction are so closely inter-related that it is impossible to discuss completely the functions of any one without considering the functions of all three

5 **Secretary.**—In most of the provinces the official who 'passes orders' on behalf of Government in respect of education is the Secretary for Education and is, as a rule, a member of the Indian Civil Service In the Central Provinces, the Director of Public Instruction is also Secretary to Government In the Punjab, he is Under Secretary, but as there is no Secretary he deals direct with the Minister and passes the orders of Government In the United Provinces, he is a Deputy Secretary, but there is also an Education Secretary

In provinces where the post of Secretary is separate from that of Director of Public Instruction the Secretary acts for most, though not all, purposes as the superior officer of the Director The letters and unofficial references of the Director pass through the Secretary's hands and are noted on by him before they reach the Minister Routine cases are disposed of by the Secretary and all orders of Government are issued in his name In one province, at least, the matters relating to university education are dealt with by the Secretary and not by the Director The main function of the Secretary is to examine and criticise the proposals of the Director from the point of view of broad policy and in the light of the financial position of Government In most provinces Education forms only a portion of the Secretary's work

6 **Director of Public Instruction.**—The permanent administrative head of the Education Department is the Director of Public Instruction .He is the expert adviser to the Minister in matters of policy and in many provinces he takes his place beside him in the Legislative Council He is responsible for the administration of education in a province of which the population may

be any thing from seven to forty-six millions of people He has to deal with a large number of districts, with a number of colleges, and with thousands of schools, some under public and others under private management, he must keep in touch with the different parts of the province by frequent touring He has delicate negotiations with a large number of local bodies entrusted with duties in regard to primary education He has to organise the arrangements for the training of an army of teachers, primary and secondary He is responsible for girls' education as well as for that of boys He has to consider many difficult disciplinary cases He is an *ex-officio* member of the governing authorities of the local university or universities He has often to advise Government departments other than his own in regard to the appointment of suitable applicants for the posts under their control and in regard to educational questions which affect them

7 At present, the Director of Public Instruction is invariably chosen from the Indian Educational Service One of the chief characteristics of this service is that it has always been a dual service, of which one side performs administrative or inspecting functions and the other performs teaching functions in Government schools and colleges As a rule, members of the Service have been recruited by the Secretary of State to posts on the teaching side For the work of inspection it is generally recognised that previous teaching experience, especially in institutions for training teachers, is very desirable, and since in a country like India an inspector must be largely concerned with matters of administration and organisation as well as with teaching, service as an inspector may in turn be regarded as a good preparation for administrative work A number of teachers have been transferred from time to time to the inspecting side

The general administrative posts at headquarters, even that of the Director of Public Instruction, have often however been filled in the past by teachers whose previous experience of administrative work has necessarily been slight Seniority on the teaching side has often been regarded as giving a man a claim to a superior post on the administrative side, and it has sometimes happened that an officer whose experience had been mainly or even entirely in college work, and who was within measurable distance of retirement, has been appointed Director of Public Instruction

8 In England, the recruit to the administrative staff of the Board of Education is appointed at an early age and works in a large group with all the advantages of mutual criticism and personal discussion By this means he receives that training in method and detailed application of policy which is necessary to build up an efficient corps of staff officers The administrative staff is also able to keep close personal contact with the inspecting

staff. In India, the number of senior officers engaged in administrative work at headquarters is small and the inspecting staff is scattered, and thus the members of both staffs have the disadvantage of working in comparative isolation Formerly, there was rarely more than a single superior officer at headquarters besides the Director himself and an Assistant or Deputy Director Hence the success of an administrative officer in the Department has in the past depended much more on his individual aptitude and capacity than on any corporate training which he has received.

It has also been of rare occurrence that the Director of Public Instruction has had opportunities of studying Indian educational problems from an all-India aspect or of comparing the methods adopted in different provinces for dealing with similar problems The Government of India has never possessed an effective organisation with adequate capacity to study the problems of an educational system and to draw into the common stock, by the ordinary means of conference and discussion, the experience of the provincial administrations Since the creation of the Indian Educational Service, only seven of its members have held educational posts under the Government of India, and some of these have held them only for a short time

9 **Relations of Secretary and Director.**—There were two reasons in former days for the appointment of an Education Secretary The first was the concentration in many provinces of all executive power in the Lieutenant Governor who, through pressure of his manifold duties, was unable to maintain personal contact with all heads of departments With the distribution of powers, first among Members of Council, and, since the Reforms, among Members and Ministers, this reason has disappeared

The second reason was the assumption that the Director of Public Instruction would require reinforcement on the administrative and political side As a matter of fact, under existing conditions, it is only rarely that a Secretary is in a position to give much administrative guidance Government does not demand from this officer an expert knowledge of education or of educational administration as an initial qualification, and it often gives him so short a tenure of office that it is impossible for him to acquire it Sir Charles de la Fosse told the Islington Commission* that during his seven years of service as Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces there had been six Secretaries in charge of Education This custom of rapid change has not been abandoned During the last eight years there have been nine Secretaries for Education in Madras, seven in Bombay, Bengal and Bihar, five in Assam and four in the United Provinces It might be urged perhaps that the Director of Public Instruction needs expert assistance on the financial side of administration; but we believe that the Finance Departments examine in greater detail

* Public Services Commission, Minutes of Evidence, Vol XX, Qn 82, 864

than was formerly the case, the proposals of the spending departments, and the Finance Committees of the legislatures also exercise important functions in regard to this matter Under the new constitution, the political aspects of educational policy are in no danger of being overlooked, the Minister and the Education Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils are particularly concerned with them

10 So far from re-inforcing educational administration the Education Secretariat, though no fault of its own, is often an obstacle to the ready and effective despatch of business In giving evidence before the Calcutta University Commission, who went into this matter, Mr G E Fawcus, now Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, said that—

> "at the present moment things were being done twice over. After being carefully considered by the inspectors or professors, a case would be discussed at great length by the clerks in the Director's office, it was then sent to the Secretariat by the Director, and the work of noting would be done all over again The work would be halved if the Director became Secretary, there would be one office instead of two, the Director would have a better class of clerks at his disposal and he would have all the printed records before him for reference "*

As we have seen, there are two provinces at present in which there is no separate Secretary for Education There is no evidence that these provinces have suffered under this system It is true that in Bengal the plan of assigning to the same person the posts of Director of Public Instruction and of Deputy Secretary to Government, was tried for a short time and was abandoned, but we do not think that this single instance offers any basis for generalisation as against the experience obtained elsewhere

11 The duties of the Director of Public Instruction are excessive and he needs relief, but he is not given that relief by having placed over him an Education Secretary with no expert knowledge of educational administration It may happen, and indeed it has happened, that an Education Secretary has had educational experience, and in those circumstances has been of great use to the Department, but the circumstances are exceptional and are not likely often to recur We have therefore to turn elsewhere in order to see how the Director of Public Instruction may be given the assistance which he needs

12 **Relations of Minister and Director.**—We shall now consider the division of functions between the Minister and the Director of

* Report, Vol III, page 244

Public Instruction Under present conditions, as we have said, the Minister is responsible for the consideration, adoption and exposition of policy, and for this purpose should obviously receive and consider the advice of the Director But the Director of Public Instruction, in addition to his other duties, is often expected, as a member of the Legislative Council, to be a ready debater, to be an exponent of policy and to furnish detailed information when it is needed in the Council Chamber * This has laid on him a very heavy additional burden

The Director should be responsible for the maintenance of discipline and efficiency among his subordinates, who should look to him, and not to the Minister for the judgment of their work It has been represented to us that in some provinces the Minister has exercised pressure on the Director in the matter of appointments and promotions on political and irrelevant personal grounds In our judgment these matters should be entirely divorced from party politics We shall discuss the matter of appointments at a later stage

13 **Headquarters Staff** —In order to carry out effectively his important task of advising the Minister on matters of policy as well as his routine duties, the Director of Public Instruction should have readily available at headquarters a staff of experienced officers He himself should not be overburdened by minor routine cases, and, indeed, provided that the policy and the lines on which it is to be executed are clearly defined, much of the work now done by the Director could, if he had a proper staff, safely be delegated to his colleagues in the head office or, in some cases, more suitably to divisional inspectors of schools and heads of institutions So long as administrative authority and responsibility are clearly fixed on the head of the Department, the delegation of powers should be considerable

14 For the framing of plans, the Director needs expert advice In matters of finance, such expert assistance is essential In the United Provinces, the Director has at his disposal a well-trained and experienced assistant who is expected not only to guarantee that all payments are in order, but also to keep the Director acquainted at all times with his financial position There is sometimes an expert officer at headquarters whose main business it is generally to supervise the development of vernacular education, to be the liaison officer between the Director on the one hand and the local officials and bodies on the other hand, and to give reliable and up-to-date information to the Director as to the principal features of the system of vernacular education, the success or failure of the attempts which are being made to improve it, and the tendencies in the actual work of the schools which require encouragement or correction There is also, in

*In one province the Director acts as Government Whip

some provinces, an expert officer whose task it is generally to supervise and to inspect training institutions, to encourage new methods, to regulate the manner of recruitment to those institutions, and to keep the Director informed as to the needs of the schools so that the supply and demand for teachers shall be equated as far as possible In the chapter dealing with the education of girls, we have pointed out how disappointing is the present position and how greatly girls' education stands in need of encouragement, expert guidance and tactful control It is essential that there should be at provincial headquarters a woman officer of high position, with experience and authority, yet only in three provinces is there a Deputy Directress for women's education The Director himself has only rare opportunities of visiting girls' schools and many of these he is not permitted to visit The most important duty of the woman officer at headquarters should be to maintain a continuous survey of the position of girls' education and to prepare plans for its development

15 We are of opinion that the headquarters staffs are lamentably inadequate, and that the preparation of schemes of policy for consideration by the Minister has been seriously hampered by this inadequacy Neglect to provide a proper staff leads not to economy but to extravagance We give below a statement showing the number of officers who hold superior posts in the headquarters offices in each province and are available to assist the Director —

Province	Headquarters officers		Total
	Men	Women	
Madras	2	1	3
Bombay	2		2
Bengal	3		3
United Provinces	3		3
Punjab	4	1	5
Burma	1		1
Bihar and Orissa	1	1	2
Central Provinces	1		1
Assam	1		1
Total	18	3	21

In four provinces there is also a Personal Assistant and in two provinces a Registrar of Departmental examinations The 27 gazetted officers of the Indian Educational Service and Provincial Educational Service, serving in the Headquarters offices, correspond, generally speaking, to the class of First Division Civil Servants in England, on whom the Head of the Department is able to devolve more or less responsible administrative work In the Board of Education these officers now number 65

In England and Wales, there are some 34,000 elementary and secondary schools, with six million pupils In India, there are some 200,000 primary and secondary schools, with about ten million pupils

16 It is true that for expert advice, especially in regard to secondary schools, the Director can and often does make use of the staffs of training colleges There is a danger, however, that this practice may place too heavy a burden on the training colleges and divert the staff from their proper work

17 With a proper organisation and an adequate staff at headquarters the Director should be brought into touch with the working of the whole provincial system This is necessary, among other things, in order to adjust policy to local conditions and requirements But for the carrying out of even the best educational policy, something more than executive orders is required Education is a difficult and complex subject and a policy is likely to fail unless it is accompanied by proper explanations It is for the Director, by means of circulars, and by personal discussions and conferences with many of those concerned, to explain the spirit in which each new advance in policy is conceived and the way in which it should be carried out

18 **Branches of Education not under the control of the Education Department.**—We are informed that in Madras, in the sphere of primary education alone, "in addition to the schools under the Director of Public Instruction there are schools under the Labour Department, the Jail Department, the Fisheries Department, the Police Department, the Salt Department, the Forest Department and under the Registrar General of Panchayats"* The schools under the Labour Department number over 1,000, and the schools under the Registrar-General of Panchayats 1,300 In all provinces, except Bombay, industrial and technical education are controlled by the Industries Department and not by the Education Department In Bombay, the control is divided between the Director of Public Instruction and a Committee of Direction for Technical Education There are in most provinces many schools giving manual or technical instruction of some kind which are aided or managed by the Education Departments and which scarcely differ in character from the lower technical or industrial schools aided or maintained by the Industries Departments.

It is possible that this division of control may be necessary in some cases, but we are convinced that, generally speaking, it acts as a considerable handicap in the framing of a properly balanced policy We think that a greater degree of co-ordination is essential, particularly with regard to industrial and technical education, and to this end a special survey of the position in each province appears necessary

19 From the Annual and Quinquennial Reviews and of the special Memoranda submitted to us by provincial Governments, and from the evidence we have received during our tour

* Madras Q R , page 77

it is clear that many of the Departments are fully aware of the defects of the present system They have shown both candour in acknowledging them and a desire to remedy them Nevertheless, it is true that there has been in most provinces an absence of policy adequate to cope with the wastage in primary education, the want of co-ordination between primary and higher primary or middle education, the backwardness of women's education, the persistence of dead uniformity in secondary education, and the inadequate supply of trained teachers, both for primary and secondary schools Moreover, the effect of momentous changes has not always been adequately realised, nor has the necessary consequential action been taken In many provinces Local Self-Government Acts have been passed in recent years with the object of transferring increased control over vernacular education to the local bodies It might have been expected that great care would be taken to explain the effects and the nature of the changes to those concerned and that guidance and help would have been abundantly given to the largely inexperienced local bodies in the performance of their new duties, but such has rarely been the case In one province where the transition was abnormally sudden, not only was no guidance or explanation given but educational officers were definitely instructed to abstain from any interference in matters handed over to local bodies It might well be that tactless or ill-timed intervention would have been resented, but we cannot believe that friendly guidance and co-operation would have been regarded as a matter for complaint

20 It is quite true, as we have pointed out, that Ministers in some provinces have not had the security of tenure necessary to obtain support for large measures of reform, that Directors of Public Instruction have been overloaded with petty details from which they should have been relieved and that their headquarters staffs have been inadequate Making all allowances for these circumstances, we cannot resist the conclusion that the present waste of money and effort in mass education is attributable in most provinces to the fact that no well-defined policy for its extension has been inherited from the old régime, or constructed under the new one Without a real effort to eliminate waste and ineffectiveness by means of a courageous and well-directed policy, there can be little hope of improvement in the future There is a common impression that success in extending education is merely a question of money It is not so; money is no doubt necessary, but the expenditure of money, without the resolute, consistent, and continuous execution of policy will do little or nothing

II —The Inspectorate

21 In each province, the inspecting agency consists of men and women The inspectorate generally forms a hierarchy with divisional inspectors assisted by deputy or assistant inspectors, in

each division and with deputy or district inspectors, assisted by a number of assistant district inspectors or sub-inspectors in each district

We now give a brief description of the system in each province —

In *Madras*, there are no divisional inspectors but there is a district educational officer for each of the 26 districts (excluding the Nilgiris) and these are assisted by 386 deputy inspectors, junior deputy inspectors and supervisors For womens' education, there are five inspectresses with 27 assistant and sub-assistant inspectresses under them

In *Bombay*, the Government subordinate inspecting staff has been largely replaced by the supervisors and superintendents of education under the school boards of local bodies There are, however, for each of the five divisions educational inspectors and assistant deputy educational inspectors, in districts where the local board has not yet taken over the control of primary education, there are still deputy educational inspectors The period is one of transition The women's inspecting agency consists of four inspectresses

In *Bengal*, each of the five divisions has a divisional inspector The divisional inspectors are assisted by nine second inspectors and five assistant inspectors for Muhammadan education There is a district inspector for each of the 28 districts The district inspectors are assisted by 61 sub-divisional inspectors 243 sub-inspectors and 19 assistant sub-inspectors There are two inspectresses—one for East and one for West Bengal,—and 12 assistant inspectresses under them

In the *United Provinces*, there are 14 inspectors and ten assistant inspectors with 57 deputy inspectors and 195 sub-deputy inspectors under them There is a chief inspectress and nine circle inspectresses

In the *Punjab*, there is a divisional inspector for each of the five divisions, and a district inspector for each of the 29 districts There are also five deputy inspectors and 149 assistant district inspectors The women's inspecting agency consists of four inspectresses with ten assistant inspectresses under them

In *Burma*, there are nine inspectors assisted by seven assistant inspectors, 79 deputy inspectors and 54 sub-inspectors There is one inspectress for women's education, helped by three deputy inspectresses

In *Bihar*, there are six divisional inspectors of schools with 20 district inspectors, 39 deputy inspectors and 249 sub-inspectors under them There are no inspectresses but there are nine assistant inspectresses

In the *Central Provinces*, there are four circle inspectors with eight assistant inspectors and 74 deputy inspectors under them For girls' schools there are two inspectresses assisted by four assistant inspectresses.

In *Assam*, there are two inspectors of schools with three assistant inspectors, 21 deputy inspectors and 42 sub-inspectors under them There is also an assistant inspectress

In addition to the inspecting staff described above there are, in several provinces, various inspecting posts for special purposes. These include inspectors of European schools, inspectors of vernacular education, inspectors of training schools, inspectors for Muhammadan education, inspectors of Sanskrit schools, medical inspectors and supervisors of manual training, domestic science, music, etc

22 During the course of our Review, we have referred many times to the absence of an adequate number of well-qualified and experienced inspectors and inspectresses, and to the waste and ineffectiveness in the system of education which we believe to be due in large part to that inadequacy *

Our opinions in regard to the inadequacy of the inspectorate are based not only on the evidence we have taken, but also on the provincial Reviews and Memoranda

In *Bengal*, it would seem that the Legislative Council and the Government have not always appreciated the fact that an adequate inspectorate is necessary for the economical working of the educational system Between 1922 and 1926, Government abolished 35 subordinate inspecting posts, and the following quotation from the Quinquennial Review indicates the attitude of the Council —

> "A very serious situation was created in 1924, when the Council reduced the amount provided in the budget for 1924-25 under the head 'Salaries of Inspecting Officers' by Rs 6,35,400 The Bengal Retrenchment

* We repeat here the figures for the average number of primary schools supervised by each inspector in the subordinate agency in the various provinces

Madras	112
Bengal	172
United Provinces	96
Punjab	40
Burma	29
Bihar and Orissa	106
Central Provinces	57
Assam	104

Committee had recommended practically the same reduction, and Government felt that it should be accepted if the Council persisted, notices of discharge were accordingly issued on all inspecting officers whose pay was voted This action naturally created a sense of insecurity in all Transferred Departments In August, 1924, however, since the staff affected were essential to the working of the Departments, a supplementary demand was put forward and the amount was then voted The action of the Council led, however, to a careful consideration of the possibility of economy in the Inspecting Department "*

The following remarks in the Quinquennial Review are of interest—

"It is clear that there must be more sub-inspectors The complaint is sometimes made that inspecting officers merely investigate statistics and do not criticise or help in the teaching work which, after all, is the real part of a school In so far as this is true, it is partly to be explained by the pressure of duties, but partly also, no doubt, by the lack of proper training and qualification. It is by no means easy to get the right type of man for an inspecting appointment "*

The following extract from the Government Memorandum is also relevant —

"The increase in the number of primary schools in recent years has demanded an increase in the number of sub-inspectors It was unfortunately impossible to find the funds to finance this large increase A new class was therefore called into existence, and they were termed "assistant sub-inspectors " These officers are on low pay, but are in many cases of similar qualification with the sub-inspectors They sometimes have separate areas and sometimes are under the general control of a sub-inspector The only reason for their existence is economy The average number of schools per sub-inspector (including assistant-sub-inspectors) is 172 "†

In the *United Provinces*, there has been no increase in the inspectorate during the last quinquennium and, according to the Quinquennial Review —

"It is not possible, without serious detriment to the cause of advancing education to continue the work of inspection and administration with the present depleted numbers The deputy inspector [has to serve] two

* Bengal Q R , pages 13 and 19
† Memorandum, page 3

> masters, frequently he is but ill-provided with clerical assistance, and, with a Board which assumes executive functions, his position often becomes one of difficulty and discomfort "*

In his Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, Mr H R Harrop writes —

> "The deputy inspector is on the average responsible under the chairman of the board for the work of four sub-deputy inspectors, eleven middle vernacular schools, three hundred and seventy primary and preparatory schools, over six hundred teachers, the district educational office and an expenditure of two lakhs of rupees per annum He will be responsible, under the chairman, for the successful working of the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Act (the Compulsory Education Act) of 1926 I have no wish to depreciate the existing staff, but they are not as a whole of that quality that their responsibilities demand Twenty-three of the forty-eight have been through no course of training in pedagogy, and twenty-six have not graduated at any University They are men for the most part of long experience promoted from among the sub-deputy inspectors Educated men of ideas of a high standing and character, familiar with rural problems, learned and skilled in the art and science of pedagogy are necessary to do adequately the work demanded of a deputy inspector Expenditure to secure men of the type necessary will be an economy, they will save, by efficient direction of expenditure as much as their services will cost These provinces are not spending enough on the direction and control of education "†

In *Bihar*, the number of deputy inspectors has been increased by twenty-seven, but the number of sub-inspectors has been reduced by the same amount This substitution of a higher type of inspector 'has certainly given (district inspectors) much relief"‡ but the inspectorate has increased only from 344 to 354 in number during the last quinquennium In the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, in spite of delegations, the work of inspectors continues to grow heavier, and the reduction made in the number of clerks has gone too far Nearly every report complains that the number of sub-inspectors is too small ‡

In *Burma*, the Quinquennial Review states that—

> "With this exception [some improvement in the cadre of inspectresses], nothing has been done to improve the

* United Provinces Q. R, pages 10, 11
† Report, page 25
‡ Bihar Q R, page 13

> inspecting staff which has never been so weak as it is to-day This decrease of sub-inspectors is due to a policy of gradual abolition as it is considered that the qualifications of such officers are too poor to justify continuance The majority [of deputy inspectors, *i e* , men in charge of a district] have been educated up to the old matriculation of Calcutta University "*

In the *Central Provinces*, the Quinquennial Review states that—

> "Charges of inefficiency are sometimes brought against the deputy inspectors who are said to be lacking in enthusiasm and administrative ability But, as the Inspector of Jubbulpore Circle remarks, 'to criticise adversely the deputy inspector is far from difficult, but there is another side to the question' The deputy inspectors are recruited from the ranks of secondary school and normal school teachers without any definite training in inspecting and administrative work and with little knowledge of the primary schools when they are appointed The wonder is not that the deputy inspector's work is so unsatisfactory but that, in such adverse circumstances, he does so well "†

In *Assam*, the Quinquennial Review states that the superior inspectorate is inadequate and needs reinforcement and, if possible, reorganisation in the interests both of expansion and efficiency of education ‡

23 In Madras and the Punjab, efforts have been made to improve the quality and the quantity of the inspecting staff

In *Madras*, the following extract from the Quinquennial Review indicates that the Government is alive to the necessity of having an inspectorate which will be adequate to cope with the needs of education

> "It was mentioned in the last report that the whole question of the reorganisation of the inspecting agency was under consideration The orders of Government on the reorganisation were issued in 1922 and in consequence circle inspectors and assistant inspectors of schools were replaced by district educational officers, one for each district except the Nilgiris which was combined with Coimbatore The sub-assistant inspectors and the supervisors of schools were replaced by a new cadre of officers designated deputy inspectors of schools The re-organisation brought considerable

* Burma Q R , pages 7, 8
† Central Provinces Q R , page 6.
‡ Assam Q R , page 10

relief to the officers of the inspecting agency and made better control and inspection of elementary schools in each district possible But the large increase in the number of elementary schools during the quinquennium necessitated a further increase in the inspecting agency in 1926 when a new cadre of junior deputy inspectors with a strength of 71 officers was established "*

The reorganisation referred to in the Review has also improved the quality of the inspecting staff since the old supervisors of schools were mainly trained matriculates while the new deputy inspectors are generally trained graduates

In the *Punjab*, the Quinquennial Review states that the number of assistant district inspectors has been increased from 64 to 149 during the quinquennium, but we were told by many witnesses, official and non-official, in Lahore that the inspecting staff is still inadequate Another improvement recorded in the Quinquennial Review is that "a portion of the district office has been 'provincialised' in order to ensure a greater continuity in the personnel of the clerical staff of the district inspector "† There is also evidence that the quality of the assistant staff is improving —

"It is pleasing to note that many of the assistant inspecting staff have proved very successful in spite of the fact that they have to pass a large part of the year in travelling over difficult country and in experiencing many discomforts which would be likely to damp the enthusiasm of any one born and bred in a city These young men have shown themselves keenly interested in their duties, sympathetic towards the point of view of the illiterate villager, and keenly aware of the vast possibilities of service to their fellows The vast majority of these inspecting officers are graduates who have had the advantage of a course of training at the Central Training College, where the need for social service is rightly emphasised "†

24 In *Bombay*, it appears that the duty of inspection has been virtually handed over to local bodies and that, to all intents and purposes, Government has abrogated its powers in this matter The Quinquennial Review states that—

"The introduction of the Primary Education Act has brought about a radical change in the administration of the inspecting branch Appointments to the posts of deputy educational inspectors have now ceased except

* Madras Q R, page 13
† Punjab Q R, page 25

> in those districts in which the control of primary education has not yet been taken over by the local board All the administrative work formerly done by the deputy educational inspector is now entrusted to the senior assistant deputy educational inspector Most of the officers who held the posts of deputy educational inspector have been either lent to the local authorities as administrative officers or have been otherwise provided for or have retired The local authorities are now directly responsible for the inspection of their own primary schools Government, however, continue to maintain a small inspecting staff of their own, whose duty it is to watch the working of the primary schools "*

In the Poona district, the 'small staff' retained by Government consisted of a single man of the rank of assistant deputy educational inspector, who has under his sole charge about nine hundred schools

25 In the *Central Provinces*, a similar measure has been adopted In 1922, a resolution to place all Government deputy inspectors of schools under the control of district councils was moved but withdrawn in the Legislative Council As a result of the discussion, the experiment of transferring the control in the manner suggested was tried in four districts, and has been thus described in the Government Memorandum —

> "The experiment has been reviewed from time to time Where the local bodies have shown sympathy and an appreciation of the deputed officer's view-point, the scheme has worked without great difficulty. In other cases the experiment has not been successful Generally speaking, the local bodies concerned have not been prepared to depute sufficient authority to the deputy inspector to enable him to carry out his duties, and his recommendations have too often been ignored The powers of patronage are jealously guarded by local body members The working of the scheme is again being re-examined by the Standing Committee of the Legislative Council Although some have desired to revert to the old order, leaving the larger local bodies to recruit for themselves an administrative officer, others have considered that the experiment should be extended to the province as a whole and that Government should relinquish the duty of detailed inspection "†

* Bombay Q R , page 11
† Memorandum, page 4

26 In most provinces the clerical staff of the subordinate inspecting offices is altogether inadequate, and, in consequence, the efficiency of the inspector is reduced A common practice is for a small number of clerks to be made available for the inspector from the office of the local body in whose jurisdiction he is working. This is a most unsatisfactory arrangement

27 We have referred in the chapter on Mass Education to the large number of untrained teachers and to the low academic qualifications of those applying for training A scrutiny of the qualifications of the inspecting staff who supervise and advise the teachers in the provinces reveals the unfortunate fact that many of the inspectors, particularly the subordinate inspectors, are also themselves very poorly qualified for the task allotted to them

In *Madras*, 19 of the district educational officers are trained graduates and seven are untrained graduates, of the deputy inspectors of schools 232 are trained graduates, seven are untrained graduates, ten are trained intermediates, 23 are trained matriculates, one is an untrained matriculate and one is untrained with lower qualifications than the matriculation, of the junior deputy inspectors 36 are trained graduates, four are untrained graduates, eight are trained intermediates and 59 are trained matriculates

In *Bengal*, none of the five divisional inspectors have any training qualifications, the second inspectors are all graduates but three are untrained, of the five assistant inspectors for Muhammadan education, one is a trained graduate, one an untrained graduate, one a trained intermediate and two untrained intermediates; of the district inspectors, 20 are trained graduates, four untrained graduates, two trained intermediates and two untrained intermediates of the subordinate inspecting staff, while there are 100 trained graduates and 31 trained intermediates, there are also as many as 61 untrained graduates and 65 untrained intermediates There are also eight untrained matriculates and eighteen untrained sub-inspectors with general qualifications lower than matriculation

In the *United Provinces*, in the higher inspecting staff there are seven untrained graduates, amongst the deputy and sub-deputy inspectors there are 37 trained graduates, 69 untrained graduates, 78 trained intermediates, 63 trained matriculates and eight trained sub-deputy inspectors with general qualifications lower than matriculation

In the *Punjab*, the great majority of the superior and the subordinate inspecting staff are trained

graduates Amongst the assistant district inspectors 107 are trained graduates, two are untrained graduates, 19 are trained intermediates and seven are trained but with qualifications lower than the intermediate

In *Burma*, five of the inspectors of schools are untrained graduates, of the seven assistant inspectors three are trained graduates, one is a trained intermediate and three are trained matriculates; of the deputy inspectors, thirteen are trained graduates, ten untrained graduates, ten trained intermediates, six untrained intermediates, sixteen trained matriculates, fourteen untrained matriculates and ten trained but with lower qualifications than matriculation

In *Bihar*, all the divisional inspectors are trained graduates; among the district inspectors, there are three untrained graduates, five trained intermediates and one an untrained intermediate, among the deputy inspectors there are four trained graduates, four untrained graduates, thirteen trained undergraduates and twelve untrained undergraduates, among the sub-inspectors there are 63 trained graduates, 52 untrained graduates, 47 trained undergraduates and 32 untrained undergraduates

In the *Central Provinces*, of the deputy inspectors twelve are trained graduates, four untrained graduates, eighteen trained intermediates, three untrained intermediates, 22 trained matriculates and fifteen untrained matriculates

In *Assam*, neither of the inspectors of schools has received training, of the assistant inspectors two are trained graduates and one is an untrained graduate, of the deputy inspectors seven are trained graduates, three untrained graduates, eight trained intermediates, two untrained intermediates and one is a trained matriculate of the sub-inspectors fifteen are trained graduates, eight untrained graduates, nine trained intermediates, seven untrained intermediates and three are untrained matriculates *

28 It is disquieting to find in most provinces large numbers of untrained inspectors of all grades Inspectors who are themselves only intermediates or men with even lower qualifications and who moreover have received no training cannot be expected to help in the work of improving the schools and the teachers, and yet we find that in Bengal as many as 91 members of the subordinate

* The number of trained and untrained inspectors shown against each province does not exactly correspond to the number given in para 21, owing to posts being unfilled, etc

inspecting staff have qualifications lower than that of a trained intermediate, in the United Provinces sixty-three subordinate inspectors are only trained matriculates, in Bihar eighty-four of the sub-inspectors are untrained undergraduates, and in the Central Provinces forty-two of the deputy inspectors have qualifications lower than trained intermediates On the other hand, in Madras and the Punjab the untrained inspector is the exception In the Punjab, there are only two untrained graduates amongst the assistant district inspectors and in Madras there are only 13 untrained inspectors out of a total of 386 men in the subordinate inspecting agency

29 It is important that the divisional inspectors should be in close contact with the systems of vernacular education so that they may be in a position to offer advice both to Government and to local bodies in the making of new plans and programmes and in the general supervision of their execution As we have already suggested, the provincial headquarters offices are inadequately staffed for this purpose and, in any case, an educational officer of standing and experience should be interposed between headquarters and the local authorities.

We have made inquiries into this matter and find that in most provinces a divisional inspector must necessarily confine his attention almost entirely to the inspection and administration of anglo-vernacular education and that he has little or no time to consider the problems of primary education

In *Bombay*, we discussed this question with three divisional inspectors and found that they are much overburdened by other duties In consequence, local bodies are unlikely to receive advice and guidance from any superior educational officer in the carrying out of their most difficult duties

In *Bengal*, we were informed in evidence that the time of divisional inspectors is fully occupied by the requirements of high and middle English schools, especially as they are frequently requested by the University to inspect schools with a view to their recognition by the University

In the *United Provinces*, this important matter was discussed in 1913 by the Piggott Committee and Government in its Resolution on the Report of the Committee said —

> "The rapid growth of the school-leaving examination and the continued expansion of anglo-vernacular education have added, and will continue to add, largely to the work of the inspector His time tends in consequence to be absorbed more and more completely by secondary education, and *pari passu* his

> connexion with, and responsibility for, vernacular education tends to be steadily reduced This is not a state of affairs which can be contemplated with equanimity There ought ultimately to be an extra inspector in each of the more important divisions, whose appointment will enable much greater attention to be devoted to vernacular and especially primary education and to the training of teachers for it As the staff of inspectors increases and the quality of the district staff improves, the assistant inspectors will be absorbed, the necessity of maintaining this grade of officers to relieve the inspector of the work of detailed inspection of vernacular schools will cease "*

Unfortunately, these intentions have not been carried out, indeed, the difficulty has been accentuated by a reduction in the divisional inspectorate in spite of the fact that the number of institutions under their charge has been largely increased in recent years In his Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, Mr Harrop explains the present position —

> "The outbreak of the war prevented these orders [the Government Resolution on the Report of the Piggott Committee] being put into force An additional post of inspector of schools, Jhansi Division, was, however, created and filled, and a post of additional inspector of schools, Kumaun Division, created though no officer ever worked in the post The need for economy in 1921 onwards resulted in a reconsideration of the position The Inspector of European Schools was relieved of his duties of Inspector of Schools Kumaun Division, which was placed in the charge of the provincial service assistant inspector The Economy Committee which met in 1923 recommended, in the circumstances then existing and on the assumption that there would be a decline in the number and scope of the institutions for which the department is directly responsible, that a reduction in the number of divisional inspectors was possible On this recommendation and as an experimental measure, two posts of divisional inspectors of schools are vacant The Inspector of Schools, Lucknow Division, holds charge of the Fyzabad Division as well, and the Inspector of Schools, Allahabad Division, holds charge of the Jhansi Division "*

* A Further Report on Primary Education in the United Provinces, pages 22 and 23.

In the *Punjab*, "considerable relief has been afforded by the appointment of deputy inspectors in place of the assistant and specialist inspector in each division", and by the creation of the post of Inspector of Vernacular Education at headquarters The Quinquennial Review states that the divisional inspector—

> "concerns himself rather with broad questions of general policy such as the expansion and improvement of vernacular education, the introduction of compulsion, the provision of schools for adults and the development of propaganda work, a more equitable distribution of anglo-vernacular schools, the introduction of manual training centres and clerical classes and so forth The problem to-day is not the lack, but rather the fulness, of the scope that lies before the inspectors "*

In the *Central Provinces*, the divisional inspectorate has been much reduced in recent years—

> "Two posts, that of Inspector of Schools, Chattisgarh, and of Additional Inspector of Schools, Berar, have been in abeyance since August 1922 In 1923, the post of Inspector of European Schools was amalgamated with that of the Deputy Director of Public Instruction As a result of the reorganisation of the administrative branch of the department in 1922-23, the number of inspectoral circles was reduced to four by the transfer of Saugor and Damoh from Jubbulpore Circle to the Nerbudda Circle and by the addition of Drug, Bilaspur and Raipur to the Jubbulpore Circle It is by no means certain that this number of circles is sufficient It is generally admitted that the work in Berar is heavy The Inspector thinks that 'clearly Berar has already outgrown the limits of an average and wieldy circle' "†

30 In *Madras*, our evidence shows that the absence of Divisional Inspectors has seriously affected progress In this connection, the Report on the Development of Elementary Education in Madras states that—

> "At present there is no officer intermediate between the acting district educational officer on Rs 250 (for example) and the Director of Public Instruction with the result that so far from it being possible to give greater powers and responsibilities to district educational officers it frequently happens that a district educational officer is not able to handle

* Punjab Q R , page 22
† Central Provinces Q R , page 5

satisfactorily existing local difficulties Moreover it must be admitted, however unpalatable the fact may be, that in dealing with men and matters in district life status and salary are as important as tact and efficiency The lowest grade deputy collector, the fourth grade excise inspector, the most junior income-tax officer and the acting district munsif are all paid higher than the acting district educational officer "*

The same Report recommended a reorganisation of the inspecting agency so as to include "the appointment of an Inspector of Elementary Education with his headquarters in the office of the Director of Public Instruction and the appointment of three divisional inspectors of schools, each with jurisdiction over 8 or 9 districts "* Although an educational officer has been appointed for each district, mainly in order to supervise and develop primary education, we have been informed that in practice the district educational officers exercise very little direct supervision over the primary schools and that they have been prevented by the travelling allowance regulations from visiting primary schools except those which lie on their route to secondary schools

31 There is also evidence that the work of divisional inspectors is gravely handicapped by frequent transfers This has been particularly the case in Bengal where we heard in evidence that it is of rare occurrence for a divisional inspector to remain in the same division for any length of time

The Central Provinces are in a similar position In his Quinquennial Review, the Director of Public Instruction writes that in certain circles, frequent changes have been made during the quinquennium in the personnel of the inspecting staff † He then states that, though two of the circles have been more fortunate in this respect, in the Nerbudda Circle the inspectors "have changed more rapidly than the years" † and in the Jubbulpore Circle "there have been in all ten changes in the inspectorate during the five years Seven different inspectors held charge of the Circle, of whom only one remained in charge for a complete year "† The Director goes on to say that "the administrative branch of the service has been considerably weakened by the absence of direct recruitment to the Indian Educational Service, and the problem of providing an adequate inspecting agency is one which requires the serious and careful consideration of Government "†

32 We have discussed in Chapter VII the deplorable inadequacy of the women's inspecting agency in most provinces and

* Report on the Development of Elementary Education in Madras, page 13
† Central Provinces Q R , page 6

have emphasised the need for encouragement by women officers if girls' education is to develop successfully

In *Bombay*, there is no subordinate women's inspecting agency and the four inspectresses of schools are mainly concerned with secondary schools The great majority of primary schools for girls have in consequence to be inspected by men

In the *United Provinces*, the Quinquennial Review states that "the extension of female education has greatly increased office work and this side of her duties has necessarily taken up a large part of the time of the Chief Inspectress involving a restriction in her touring activities and in actual inspection of institutions The need for assistance is clearly indicated."* There is only one woman officer in the subordinate inspecting agency and in this connexion the same Review states that "a few municipal and district boards have their own supervisors or inspectresses but because of the nature of the work and the conditions under which it must be carried out it is exceedingly difficult to find persons suitable for the posts of district inspectress "*

In *Burma*, in spite of the recent re-organisation of the women's educational service there are only four women inspectors The Quinquennial Review states that "the pity of it is that the staff is so short handed and that there are only three deputy inspectresses, one for Rangoon, Pegu and Irrawady (who obviously cannot get through her work and has had to ignore the Irrawady Circle), one for Moulmein and one for Mandalay Now that there is a real desire for girls' education being manifested all over the province (a desire which is apparent even in the monastic schools), the time has come when this cadre might be usefully expanded "†

In the *Central Provinces*, the inadequacy of the inspecting agency is specially commented on by the Director of Public Instruction in the Quinquennial Review He writes that "the work of the inspectresses is particularly arduous and difficult Owing to the fact that the post of an assistant inspectress in Berar has been vacant since 1923, the inspection work of reserved schools in Berar had to be given to deputy inspectors

* United Provinces Q R , pages 12 and 13
† Burma Q R , page 28.

of schools This is reported to be neither satisfactory nor efficient The inspectress cannot put in more than one annual inspection and 'occasionally one comes upon a school keen to go ahead, desiring help and direction but because supervision is lacking, being forced into a position of nonentity ..The deputy inspectors do what they can, but the weight of their work must be given to the boys' schools. The schools themselves feel that the inspection of the deputy inspectors of schools does not bear the same responsibility as the visit of an inspectress.' Certain schools, 31 Government and 6 aided, could not be visited at all by the assistant inspectress of schools The necessity for filling the vacant post of assistant inspectress in this circle is a matter which needs considering as a necessary step not only towards the improvement and extension of female education but also for the maintenance of existing standards "*

In *Assam*, there is only one woman inspecting officer for the whole province Prior to 1924, there was an inspectress of schools but the post has been held in abeyance as a measure of economy and the work of control and administration of girls' schools has been transferred to the inspectors of schools Commenting on this retrenchment the Director of Public Instruction writes "these are not satisfactory arrangements But the times are bad and they may serve so long as the general public remains uninterested in girls' education and there is no money for advance "† The annual Report on Education in Assam for 1924-25 also states that "the standard of work in the girls' schools must deteriorate and is reported to have already done so Male inspecting officers cannot be expected to inspect girls' schools efficiently The post of inspectress cannot be restored too soon "†

33 It will be of interest to compare the provision made for inspection in India with that in England The area of England and Wales is about 58,000 square miles, the population is 36 millions, and there are some 34,000 elementary and secondary schools with about six million pupils The area of British India is about 1,100,000 square miles, the population is 247 millions, there are some 200,000 primary and secondary schools with about ten million pupils

*Central Provinces Q R , page 93
†Assam Q R , page 80

It should also be borne in mind that, in England and Wales, the local authorities usually employ large and competent staffs who relieve the Government staff of the Board of Education of a great deal of administrative work In India, the staffs of local bodies are usually very scanty, and a great deal of the work of administration and accounting of these bodies has to be done by the staffs of provincial Education Departments

It has been calculated that, in England and Wales, the higher inspecting staff amounts to 241 (172 men and 69 women), while in the whole of India the number of inspectors who belong either to the Indian Educational Service or to a provincial service is only 282 (225 men and 57 women)

34 Doubts have been expressed from time to time in the Legislative Councils of the provinces and elsewhere as to the necessity for a large and well-qualified inspecting agency Criticisms have constantly been made against what has been assumed to be a high expenditure of public funds on direction and inspection We cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that so long as the provincial Governments are responsible for educational policy and contribute so largely to the financing of mass education, an adequate inspecting staff is not only essential but actually economical In Chapter XIV, paras 12 and 13 we have shown that the present expenditure on direction and inspection is comparatively small in all provinces

It will, we think, be generally admitted that if the system of public education in India is to be made efficient the inspecting staffs in the provinces must be both enlarged and improved We have referred to the contrary opinion that inspection is an unnecessary luxury We regard it as no more unnecessary than the regular inspection of a railroad, without which the inevitable flaws constantly occurring in the permanent way would lead to accidents and loss of life Everyone acquainted with the educational system in India is aware of the flaws in schools which are rarely inspected In some cases they become periodically evanescent and in others, so we have been told, they cease to exist except for the purpose of receiving a grant payable to a teacher who gives no instruction Accidents of this kind do not, like railway accidents, involve physical injury or death, but they involve not only waste of public money but, what is more serious, waste of children's lives and of their opportunities It is not only for the making of plans and policy for the future but for the efficiency of the daily work in the schools that a good inspectorate is essential

III —Local Authorities

35 The chief official landmarks in the development of responsible local self-government in India are the Resolution by Lord Ripon's Government of May, 1882, the Report of the Decentralisation Commission of 1907-09, the comprehensive Resolution on the main problems of local self-government of April, 1915, the announcement in the House of Commons on 20 August, 1917, of the policy of His Majesty's Government, followed by the Viceroy's declaration of 5 September, in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated 22 April, 1918, and the Resolution of the Government of India of 16 May, 1918 The attitude of the Government in respect of certain matters affecting education had also been declared in a circular from the Department of Education dated 19 September, 1916

36 As long ago as 1882, the Government of India adopted as a general principle of policy that the object of local government is " to train the people in the management of their own local affairs and that political education of this sort must in the main take precedence of considerations of departmental efficiency, that local bodies should not be subjected to unnecessary control but should learn by making mistakes and profiting by them " This sentiment has been repeated subsequently on numerous occasions, and the Reforms Report of 1918 declared that " there should be as far as possible complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control"* and that "the accepted policy must be to allow the boards to profit by their own mistakes "*

The authors of that Report regarded it as their " first and immediate task to make a living reality of local self-government"* though they recognised that they could not " breathe the breath of life into these institutions, that must come with the awakening of the sense of duty and public spirit which the War has fostered and which opportunity will develop" * At the same time the Report frankly recognised the defects of the existing system of primary education which was already practically in the hands of local bodies and the dependence of a general extension of the electorate upon an extension of literacy *

37 In these general pronouncements no attempt was made to define " local affairs " and the distinction which has been drawn in England between services which are predominantly "national" and those which are predominantly "local" in character, and consequently are more or less suitable subjects for a large measure of central or local control, received little or no recognition Nor

*Montagu Chelmsford Report, paras 127, 186, 188, 195 and 263

did the idea find expression which underlies the English classification of education as a "semi-national" service, in which active partnership between central and local authority must leave no doubt as to the duty of the central authority to protect the national interest It was assumed apparently that, though education and particularly primary education was of fundamental importance as a "nation-building service" and was, through the creation of literacy, the chief agency for creating that intelligent electorate on which political progress must depend, nevertheless the service of education was just as suitable as other services for extensive devolution on which local authorities could practice their 'prentice hands and learn by making their own mistakes This assumption presumably rested on the view that the national gain by way of greater interest and sense of responsibility from letting local authorities manage education, even if at first they did it badly, would outweigh the national loss, arising from delay in spreading literacy and other benefits of education, and the continued or increased waste of public money It was perhaps also assumed that the 'mistakes' which local authorities would make would be due to inexperience rather than to any deficiency in that sense of trusteeship and guardianship of public interests essential to good local administration

But there were other questions to be considered Would not extensive devolution make it difficult for the Minister entrusted with this nation-building service, to construct and carry out an effective policy? In any case, should not the Minister be given the opportunity of devising a policy and of testing its actual working, before such devolution took place? These questions appear not to have been asked Nor does it appear that the problem of adjusting responsibility of the local authority in such a way as not to impair the responsibility of the Minister, or to tie his hands, was thought out, or its importance realised

38 So far as the Government of India are concerned, their last words are contained in the circular of 19 September, 1916 and in the Resolution of 16 May, 1918, already mentioned On the very important matter of inspection the circular declared that

> "although there would be no objection to the maintenance of a local staff at the expense of local funds so long as it merely took the place of the existing staff and was subordinated to the Government inspecting agency, the ordinary practice will be that now observed, namely, the retention of the inspecting staff in the pay and under the control of Government"

In this respect the circular followed the principle which still obtains in England, where administrative devolution is of old standing

In the Resolution of 1918, Government declared in favour of providing for a substantial elective majority on municipal and rural boards, representation of minorities being secured by nomination They suggested that persons who had official experience might be nominated for purpose of advice or discussion only and without the right of voting, and, possibly, that provision should be made for co-option of persons who would not stand for election But Government laid stress on the necessity for an enlarged franchise (the average electorate in India was in municipalities some 6 per cent and in the district boards some 6 per cent of the population) in order to obtain constituencies which would be really representative of the ratepayers Government pronounced in favour of elected chairmen of municipalities, and in regard to district boards they went further than the Decentralisation Commission (which had recommended the retention of official chairmen) and declared in favour of non-official chairmen, but they thought it essential that for district boards and sub-district boards with large areas "the ordinary official work should be largely in the hands of a special executive officer whose appointment should require the approval of the Government and who should not be removed in ordinary circumstances without Government sanction"

39 Government generally concurred in the view of the Decentralisation Commission that ultimate powers of intervention by the Government or its officials in case of abuse or neglect of duties by local authorities must be maintained, but did not consider that any addition to existing powers should be made, in spite of the larger powers conferred on local bodies, repeating the dictum " that except in cases of really grave mismanagement local bodies should be permitted to make mistakes and learn by them rather than be subjected to interference either from within or from outside" Here again it appears that Government did not take much account of the Minister, or realise that an official who was carrying out the instructions of a responsible Minister and derived his authority from that Minister would be in a position quite different from that of an official under the old régime

It is interesting, however, to observe that Government suggested the constitution in each province of " a central body which would co-ordinate the experience of the local bodies and provide improved control and guidance by entertaining further expert inspecting establishments "

"The effect of the various pronouncements which are here summarised was greatly to accelerate the process of devolution of administrative powers in respect of education to local bodies in most of the provinces after the Reforms We are concerned to examine what has been the effect of these changes on the educational system, both as regards performance in promoting the growth of education and as regards the promise it holds out of growth for the future

40 The following is a list of the Acts passed in each province since 1919, dealing with Local Self-Government —

Madras—

City Municipal Act, 1919
District Municipalities Act, 1920
Local Boards Act, 1920
Village Panchayats Act, 1920
Elementary Education Act, 1920

Bombay—

Local Boards Act, 1923
Primary Education Act, 1923
City Municipalities Act, 1925

Bengal—

Village Self-Government Act, 1919
Primary Education Act, 1919
Primary Education (Amendment) Act, 1921
Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923.

United Provinces—

Primary Education Act, 1919.
District Boards Act, 1922
Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1922
District Boards Primary Education Act, 1926.
District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1928

Punjab—

Primary Education Act, 1919
Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1921
District Boards Act, 1921
Village Panchayats Act, 1922

Burma—

Rural Self-Government Act, 1921
City of Rangoon Municipal Act, 1922

Bihar and Orissa—

Primary Education Act, 1919
Municipal Act, 1922
Local Self-Government Act, 1923

Central Provinces—

Primary Education Act, 1920
Local Self-Government Act, 1920
Village Panchayats Act, 1920
Municipalities Act, 1922

Assam—

Municipal Act, 1923
Rural Self-Government Act, 1926
Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1926
Primary Education Act, 1926

41 A complete digest of the above-named Acts, and of the important rules made thereunder, would be a lengthy and complex document for which it would be difficult to find space in this Review, but the following paragraphs will, we hope, give some idea of the extent to which educational powers have been transferred to local self-governing bodies in the sphere of education, and of the control at present exercised by provincial Governments over them through the power of the purse, audit, statutory rules and inspection The paragraphs which follow deal only with seven provinces.

It should be noted that in Madras, Bengal, Burma and Bihar primary schools are mainly provided by private agencies, while in the other provinces they are mainly provided by local bodies

Madras.

42 In Madras, district boards and municipalities manage and maintain secondary schools, and taluq boards, municipalities and village panchayats manage and maintain primary schools Of the total number of members of both district boards and taluq boards the proportion of elected members cannot be less than three-fourths, the remaining members being nominated The president of a district board is nominated by Government or elected from amongst the members of the board at the discretion of Government In practice nearly all the district boards now have elected presidents The president of a taluq board is elected from amongst the members of the board In municipalities the proportions of elected and nominated members are the same as in district boards and the chairmen are, at the discretion of Government, either elected from amongst the members of the municipalities or nominated by Government The members of the village panchayats are all elected and the chairman is elected from amongst the members

43 A district board or municipality may not open or close a secondary school without the sanction of Government and the funds of a district board or municipality may not be spent on any secondary school which has not been recognised by the Director of Public Instruction

District boards and municipalities are subsidised by Government for the maintenance of their secondary schools and the expenditure of the boards on education is audited by Government No fixed scale of subsidies has been laid down and it is open to Government to contribute the whole or any portion of the expenditure on a school at their discretion The budgets of all boards are submitted to Government for sanction

The appointment of "qualified" (*i e*, trained or certificated) teachers rests with the district boards and municipalities and only in the case of the appointment of unqualified teachers is the approval of the district educational officer or inspectress required The pay of teachers is entirely controlled by the boards All schools maintained by district boards and municipalities are inspected by the departmental inspectors

It is evident from these facts that in Madras Government still retains considerable powers of control over the manner and the extent to which local bodies may make provision for secondary education within the areas under their jurisdiction

44 The control of primary education is largely vested in the district educational councils, which are statutory *ad hoc* bodies, constituted for each district in the Presidency A district educational council consists of members elected by district boards, municipalities, taluq boards and associations managing elementary schools, and of members nominated by the Governor in Council The number of nominated members may not exceed one-fourth of the total number of members The district collector and the inspector of schools are *ex-officio* members of the district educational council. The president of the council may be nominated by Government, or elected by the members of the council, at the discretion of Government

45 The powers of the district educational council include the preparation of schemes for the expansion of elementary education in each taluq board and municipal area, the granting of recognition to all primary schools, the assessing (after considering the recommendations of the inspector) and the disbursing of grant-in-aid to all elementary schools under private management, within the limits of funds placed at its disposal by Government

Although an appeal lies to the Director of Public Instruction against an order of the district education council, both in regard to the granting of recognition and the assessment of grant-in-aid,

it is clear that in respect of these important functions power has now largely passed from Government to an independent *ad hoc* body

46 The position in Madras is peculiar, and one which has no parallel in any other province While power to open and manage primary schools is vested in municipalities, taluq boards, and panchayats, the duty of preparing the plans which may be necessary in order to frame an estimate of the existing provision for elementary education, and of the further provision necessary to place elementary education within the reach of all children of school-going age, is vested in the district educational councils Further, an elementary education fund has been constituted for each municipality and taluq board, to which are credited the proceeds of any educational tax levied by a municipality or taluq board, and all sums granted to the municipality or board for the benefit of elementary education by Government, but the district educational councils have no power to raise taxation It would appear, in fact, that there is an unsatisfactory dualism in the control over primary education Commenting on this fact, the Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency states that "it is not natural that there should, in effect, be two agencies in process of development (1) a district educational council granting recognition to all schools but only aiding 'aided' schools and (2) local bodies managing and financing public schools It is not surprising that district educational councils have taken no initiative in the development of elementary education when they have neither the power of raising taxation nor the ability to open and finance new schools under their own control" * Our evidence also shows that the transfer of the power of recognition from Government to the district educational councils, constituted with a majority of members elected from the local bodies, has resulted in Government being no longer able to decide where the provision of schools is most urgently necessary or to prevent the establishment of schools under the management of local bodies in rivalry to schools managed by private agencies It further appears from the reports that, owing to the fact that district educational councils cannot in any way supplement the lump grants made by the Government for the payment of grants-in-aid to privately managed elementary schools, even the grants as originally assessed by the councils have not generally been paid in full Proposals to amend the Madras Primary Education Act so as to abolish the district education councils are under consideration

47 Subject to the necessity of obtaining recognition for their schools from the district educational councils, municipalities and taluq boards have large powers in the matter of making provision

* Report page 8

for elementary education within the areas under their jurisdiction They may open, close, or transfer elementary schools at their discretion, provided that the previous consent of the inspector of schools is obtained for the closure or transfer of schools opened with the aid of subsidies from provincial funds Subject to a stated minimum, they may fix the pay of all teachers The conditions of service, the recruitment, transfer and promotion of all teachers in their schools are entirely within their control, though they are expected to consult the inspector of schools and the inspectress before appointments and transfers are made

48 The accounts of the educational funds of municipalities and taluq boards are audited by Government, and the budgets of these local bodies have to be sanctioned by Government, whose orders on the budgets must be carried out The accounts of each school maintained by a local body are also examined by the subordinate inspecting staff of the Education Department

49 All primary schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors The Corporation of Madras is the only local body which maintains a supervising staff of its own

50 In Madras, it would appear, therefore, that while the Government still retain control over the expenditure on primary education and the duty of inspecting all schools, they are no longer in a position to initiate schemes for expansion or to regulate the provision of elementary education in the districts

Bombay.

51 In Bombay, the position in regard to secondary schools is similar to that in Madras, and the Education Department still retains control over secondary schools maintained by local bodies

52 Primary education is almost entirely under the control of district boards and municipalities operating through school boards These boards have been constituted as follows —

A school board of a district board includes not less than nine and not more than sixteen members elected by the district board A school board of a municipality includes not less than seven and not more than nine members elected by the municipality In both cases it is provided that the elected members should include persons experienced in education, women, and representatives of minorities, backward classes, and depressed classes Elected members are not necessarily members of the district board or municipality Government may nominate four additional members to the school board of a district board and three additional members to the school board of a municipality In some places, no school board

has been created for a municipality, and in those places the school board of the district board exercises the powers and performs the duties in respect of primary education for the municipality Such municipalities are represented on the school board Every school board is entitled to elect its own chairman Each district board and municipality, with the approval of Government, appoints an officer who is called the school board administrative officer He is the chief executive officer of the school board, and his pay, powers and duties are subject to the sanction of Government

The general result of the establishment of these school boards has been that the district boards and municipalities, functioning through the school boards, now maintain and manage their own schools, recognise and aid privately managed schools, and are responsible for the preparation of plans for expansion and development in the field of primary education

The district boards and municipalities maintain their own supervising staff, in addition to the school board administrative officer, and Government have retained only a very small inspecting staff, limited to one or two officers in each district

53 The above facts show that, in most essentials, the power of control over the efficiency and development of primary education has passed from Government to local bodies The only powers which the Government have retained are the powers to approve the appointment of the administrative officer, to sanction budgets, to approve scales of pay of teachers, to regulate the proportion of untrained teachers, to fix the curricula, to sanction schemes for the financing of a policy of expansion and of the introduction of compulsion, and to audit the educational expenditure of district boards and municipalities

54 As we have pointed out in the chapter on Mass Education, the Government inspecting staff which has been retained is entirely inadequate to inspect the existing primary schools either in order to ascertain their efficiency or to ensure that the money granted by Government to local bodies has been economically and effectively spent The following extract from a circular issued by the Education Department to its inspectors throws some light on the present position of the Government inspecting agency —

"It must be impressed upon Departmental Officers inspecting primary schools, maintained or approved by local authorities that the schools are no longer under Departmental control Their duty is to report on the school as regards housing, equipment, staff, efficiency of instruction, etc , so that Government may be in a

position to determine whether the local authority is conducting its schools satisfactorily The position will be rather difficult especially at the beginning, as the local authority will have its own staff of supervisors and conflict between them and Government inspecting officers must be avoided As far as possible criticisms should take the form of suggestions and anything like interference in the administration of the schools must be avoided ''

55 The school boards have not been working for any length of time, and it is obviously early as yet to judge the result of the large transfer of power which took place in 1923, but our evidence shows that even the administrative officers of the school boards, in whose hands it was intended that the actual administration of primary education should lie, have been subjected to much direct interference on the part of the boards or their chairmen in matters of detail The Primary Education Act of 1923 did not even leave it to Government to lay down, by rules framed under the Act, the powers and duties of the administrative officer, and, in consequence, district boards and municipalities have shown a disinclination to delegate powers to the administrative officer which are clearly needed by him for a successful working of the new system of control Commenting on the transfer of control to school boards, the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay in his Quinquennial Review states that ''It is early to pronounce on the results of the transfer of control of the district local board schools The control now exercised by the boards is very great, greater it is believed than in any other province in India, and except for financial purposes the supervision of the Department has been reduced to a minimum ''* In this connexion our evidence shows that not only can the Government exercise no control whatsoever over the appointment of the supervisors working under the school boards, but even in the case of the appointment of an administrative officer they cannot insist on the local authority making a fresh recommendation for the appointment of a suitable officer in cases where a previous recommendation of the local authority has not met with the approval of Government Similarly, if an administrative officer once approved by Government does not carry out his duties satisfactorily, Government has no power to direct that his tenure of appointment be terminated Even in the matter of the selection of teachers for training in the training schools maintained by Government, the Education Department has no authority and the selection is made by the local bodies

56 Viewing the position in Bombay as a whole, we think it is to be regretted that a system of primary education which had been framed on sound lines should have been handed over to the

* Bombay Q. R , page 7

control of local bodies without the insertion in the Statutes or rules of sufficient safeguards to ensure that Government, working through its Ministers and the Education Department, would be able at least to guide future developments

Bengal.

57 In Bengal, the control of education can scarcely be said to have been handed over to local bodies to any appreciable extent District boards and municipalities maintain and manage very few secondary schools, and the effective control by Government over secondary education is in no way limited by powers possessed by local bodies

58 Even in the sphere of primary education local bodies in Bengal play only a small part Out of a total of nearly 53,000 primary schools, local bodies manage and maintain only 4,000 District boards, municipalities and union boards have been encouraged to open and maintain an increasing number of primary schools, but they have not been charged with the duty of generally controlling primary education in the areas under their jurisdiction Municipalities and union boards have, however, under the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 and the Amending Act of 1921, been charged with the duty of submitting to Government schemes for the provision of schools for the education of all children of school-going age and for the assumption of the direct management and control of all such schools if the application of compulsion is sanctioned by Government

District boards and municipalities aid privately managed primary schools from funds placed at their disposal by Government and on the recommendation of the district inspectors They may also aid privately managed primary schools from their own funds

The recognition of primary schools is granted by the Education Department through the inspecting officers, and all schools are subject to inspection by the officers of the Education Department No local body maintains an inspecting staff, except the Calcutta Corporation, which has appointed supervisors of its own

59 It is clear, therefore, that in Bengal Government is still mainly responsible for the organisation and control of primary education We understand, however, that the draft Primary Education Bill which is under consideration proposes to establish school boards in each district on somewhat similar lines to the district educational councils now in existence in Madras The draft Bill also proposes to entrust the maintenance and management of all public institutions for the training of teachers in primary schools to the school boards.

The United Provinces.

60 In the United Provinces no anglo-vernacular secondary schools are maintained by district boards and only eight by municipalities Local bodies therefore practically play no part in the provision of secondary education The control of secondary education, also, does not vest in local bodies

61 Primary education is largely in the hands of district boards and municipalities which are responsible for the provision, recognition, maintenance and aid of both primary and middle vernacular schools.

Until May, 1928, the powers relating to the control of education were vested in the district boards themselves, which consisted almost entirely of elected members, with elected chairmen, only two places on any Board being filled by nomination By a recent amendment to the District Boards Act of 1922 "all the powers, duties and functions of the Board in regard to educational matters" except the powers with regard to budgets have been vested in an education committee of the board The amending Act of 1928 has constituted the new education committees as follows —

> "The Board shall appoint an Education Committee which shall consist of not less than nine and not more than 12 members If the Education Committee consists of nine or ten members, three of the members shall be persons who are not members of the Board and the remainder shall be members of the Board If the Committee consists of eleven or twelve members, four of the members shall be persons who are not members of the Board, and the remainder shall be members of the Board Of the members of the committee who are not members of the Board, one or more may be Government servants in the Education Department other than members of the Inspecting staff of that Department
>
> The Board shall make rules for the appointment of persons who are not members of the Board to be members of the Education Committee and shall submit the said rules to the Local Government who may sanction them with or without modification
>
> The Education Committee shall elect a Chairman from among its own members
>
> The Education Committee shall appoint either the Secretary of the District Board or the Deputy Inspector of Schools to be Secretary of the Committee, provided that the Deputy Inspector of Schools shall be appointed if the Local Government so direct "

62 The powers previously exercised by the district boards and now exercised by the education committees are extensive and include

(*a*) the maintenance, opening and closing of middle vernacular schools,

(*b*) the giving of grant-in-aid, subject to the rules prescribed, to middle vernacular schools under private management,

(*c*) the maintenance, opening and closing of primary schools,

(*d*) the giving of grant-in-aid, subject to the rules prescribed, to primary schools under private management,

(*e*) the decision on all questions arising in respect of the service, leave, transfer, pay, allowances and privileges of teachers, subject only to the observance of the rules laid down by Government in regard to the minimum qualification and pay of teachers (These powers vest in the chairmen of the committees)

The approval of the divisional inspector of schools or of any higher authority is not required before any of the above powers are exercised and it is only incumbent on the board or committee to obtain the opinion of the inspector before opening or closing a middle vernacular school In this connexion it must be noted that no inspector or inspectress can become a member of a district board or education committee but that inspectors are permitted to attend and address meetings of these bodies

63 All primary schools are inspected by the subordinate inspecting staff of the Education Department, but

> "the provincial inspecting staff attached to the district shall be responsible to and subject to the general control of the chairman in all matters concerning the administration of vernacular schools, including the selection of candidates for teacherships, the preparation of proposals for the appointment, posting and promotion of teachers, the arrangements for the opening of new schools, etc "*

The education committee has the further power—

> "to sanction contracts and expenditure for educational purposes up to an amount which shall be fixed by regulation, provided that budget provision exists " †

* District Board Education Rules, page 2

† The United Provinces District Board (Amendment) Act II of 1928

But the budgets of district boards are subject to the sanction of Government and the accounts of the boards and education committees are audited by Government officials

64 Education committees have not been attached to municipalities, but the powers exercised by the district boards prior to May, 1928, are in general exercised by municipalities controlling primary education in urban areas In some of the smaller municipalities, however, district boards control primary education

65 It is clear from the above facts that the control over primary education has almost entirely passed out of the hands of Government Government can no longer regulate the provision of schools in urban and rural areas and can only in a limited manner check, by inspection, the extent to which public funds have been economically and effectively spent The important duty of selecting candidates for training no longer rests with the Education Department, and the powers of the Government inspecting staff have been so curtailed as to make the inspectors little more than advisory officers

66 It is also clear that the deputy inspectors cannot, without being liable to be charged with breach of confidence by the chairmen of the education committees, report direct to the divisional inspectors on the efficiency of the schools maintained or aided by local bodies, since it has been prescribed that all official letters from the deputy inspector to the divisional inspector shall be countersigned by the chairman before despatch * Only routine letters concerning indents and tour programmes are not so countersigned

67 Our evidence leads us to believe that the transfer of control has been undertaken without a sufficient consideration of the desirability or otherwise of handing over all the powers and functions hitherto exercised by the collectors or the officers of the Education Department In this connexion we have been informed that the Education Department was not even consulted before the District Boards Act was passed

Even in respect of the limited powers which the Government have retained in regard to the control over expenditure and the qualifications and pay of teachers, insufficient authority has been vested in Government to secure that their orders are carried out We have been informed that, short of suspending the whole work of a board, Government have no method by which they can insist on their orders being carried out

The Punjab.

68 In the Punjab, the position in regard to anglo-vernacular schools is similar to that in Madras and Bombay, and although

* District Board Education Rules, page 2

local bodies maintain and manage large numbers of anglo-vernacular secondary schools, they have no share in the control of the system of anglo-vernacular education

69 Primary education is largely controlled by district boards and municipalities In district boards the proportion of elected and nominated members is left to the discretion of Government In municipalities, three-fourths of the total number of members must be elected Only two district boards have non-official elected chairmen In all other boards the deputy commissioner is the chairman In municipalities the chairman is elected, but his election is subject to the approval of the local Government or the commissioner, according as the municipality is a first or second class municipality Both district boards and municipalities elect education committees from amongst their members, but the powers of control over vernacular education are vested in the local bodies and not in their committees Both district boards and municipalities maintain and manage middle vernacular schools and primary schools, and grant recognition and aid on the recommendation of the departmental inspectors to privately managed middle vernacular schools and primary schools In all district boards and municipalities the Education Department is represented by an inspecting officer All schools are inspected by the departmental inspectors, although in a few municipalities Government inspectors have been deputed to act as supervisors of schools under the local bodies

In practice, the district boards and municipalities have relied very largely upon the advice and recommendations of the departmental inspectors, and through these officers and the official chairmen of district boards Government have retained considerable control over the working of local bodies in the sphere of vernacular education

Burma.

70 In Burma, English and anglo-vernacular secondary schools are not controlled by local bodies, but all vernacular education, including vernacular high schools and middle vernacular schools, are controlled by the local authorities

71 The local authorities in Burma are the circle boards and above them the district councils In the areas excluded from the Rural Self-Government Act of 1921, the deputy commissioner is the constituted local authority The circle boards consist of elected members only, with elected chairmen, but the boards may co-opt for the purposes of professional advice Government officers and other members, provided that such co-opted members may not propose or vote on any resolution The district councils consist of members elected from the circle boards and of persons nominated

by the local Government, whose numbers must not exceed one-sixth of the number of elected members The district councils may also co-opt members in the same manner as the circle boards

For every district council there is a district school board, elected by the district council Like the circle boards and the district councils the school boards may co-opt a limited number of members The school boards are charged with—

> "(*a*) the establishment, management, visiting and maintenance of all public vernacular schools within their respective jurisdictions and the appointment and pay of the teaching staff,
>
> (*b*) the recognition, control, visiting, and support of vernacular schools under private management within their respective jurisdictions "*

72 All schools are inspected by the departmental officers, and the inspector of schools acts as adviser to the school board and has the right of being present at the meetings of the school board and of taking part in its discussions as if he were a member, but he is not at liberty to vote upon or to make any proposition at any meeting

Subject to the condition that the scales of pay are not less than those prescribed by the local Government, the district school boards have complete power of granting recognition and aid to vernacular schools under private management Proposals for the granting of recognition, however, have to be sent to the inspector of schools, and if that officer raises any objection the matter is referred for a decision to the district council

73 A similar control over vernacular education is exercised in municipal areas by municipal or town committees or committees thereof, but there are no school boards for municipalities For the city of Rangoon, however, a separate education board has been created which functions as the local educational authority, and in one area a district council has combined with a town committee to form a joint school board for both urban and rural areas

74 It is clear from the above facts that the local educational authorities in Burma, consisting almost entirely of elected members, have very large powers of control over vernacular education Apart from the insistence on a minimum scale of pay for teachers and the right of inspecting all schools, the only control exercised by Government over the work of school boards and town committees is the power granted to the deputy commissioners, under the Rural Self-Government Act of 1921, to suspend the execution of any order of a school board, subject to the approval of the commissioner.

* The Burma Rural Self Government Act IV of 1921

Bihar and Orissa.

75 In Bihar high schools are not under the control of local bodies, and no high schools are maintained by district boards or municipalities

76 Up to 1924 middle English schools also were not under the control of local bodies, but in 1925 Government decided to permit local bodies to take over the control of all middle English schools for boys within their jurisdiction As the result of this decision, fifteen out of twenty district boards and four out of sixty municipalities or similar bodies have now taken over control of middle English schools In district board areas, middle vernacular and primary schools for boys and primary schools for girls are under the control of the district boards or of local boards functioning under the general supervision of the district boards In municipal areas, middle vernacular and primary schools for boys and primary schools for girls are under the control of the municipalities Middle schools for girls are under the direct control of Government

The recognition of all schools is vested in the officers of the Education Department, and no district board, local board or municipality may maintain or grant aid to any school not recognised by the Department

77 District boards consist of three-fourths elected members and one-fourth nominated In all but four boards the chairman is elected For each district board an education committee has been appointed, consisting of the district inspector of schools, not more than four members elected from the district board and not more than three persons who are not members of the district board, but who, in the opinion of the district board, possess special qualifications for serving on the committee These education committees are entrusted with the duties of superintending all matters connected with the finances, accounts, maintenance and management of all schools maintained by the district board and of determining the amount of grants to be paid to schools under private management

78 In municipalities similar powers to those granted to the education committees of district boards are exercised either by the municipal council as a whole, or by education committees consisting of not less than three or more than six members of the municipality and of other persons, not being members of the municipality but who, in the opinion of the members of the municipality, possess special qualifications for serving on such a committee The number of these persons must not exceed one-third of the total number of the Committee

79 The district boards have, in respect of directly managed schools, the power—

"(*a*) of deciding where new schools shall be opened, and the manner in which accommodation for them shall be provided;

(*b*) of transferring or closing existing schools;

(*c*) of fixing the class and the standard of instruction of every such school ''*

It would appear, therefore, that the power of recognition which is vested in the Education Department relates only to the efficiency of an institution and not to the need for an institution in any particular locality.

80 The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspect all schools, but the chairmen of the local bodies exercise considerable control over the work of the deputy inspectors and sub-inspectors A chairman of a district board may, for example, issue such orders as he may deem necessary to a deputy or sub-inspector through the district inspector In cases of urgency, the chairman may issue orders direct to a deputy or sub-inspector, and the deputy or sub-inspector is bound to carry them out unless they are in conflict with the Act or rules framed under the Act, or with orders already passed by a superior officer

81 As in the United Provinces, our evidence shows that the main difficulty at present is the absence of any adequate power in the hands of Government even to enforce the existing statutory rules when local bodies choose to ignore them

IV —The working of local bodies

82 We shall now try to examine the manner in which this large measure of control has been exercised by local bodies

83 **Absence of plan in the development of primary education.**— As we have pointed out in another chapter, there is a dangerous tendency to start new schools or to aid new schools without any settled plan of campaign, with the result that there is much harmful competition between schools and, in consequence, waste of money and effort

In *Madras*, as has already been noticed the policy has been in the past to increase very rapidly the number of single-teacher schools, many of which appear to be of an ephemeral character, but this was apparently at the instigation of Government, who subsidised and aided their creation The experiment of entrusting the duties of preparing schemes for the extension of primary education to district educational councils does not appear to have been successful The Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency states that—

'' the failure of the existing scheme of control by district educational councils has been largely due to the fact that whereas on the one hand, the District Educational Councils, being new and inexperienced bodies

* The Bihar and Orissa Education Code, 1928, page 54

with limited powers, made little use of the opportunities afforded them by the Act of 1920 to prepare and carry through definite programmes of expansion and development, on the other hand, the officers of the Education Department were practically precluded by circumstances from taking the initiative "*

The same Report also states that—

'It is not surprising that District Educational Councils have taken no initiative in the development of elementary education when they have neither the power of raising taxation nor the ability to open and finance new schools under their own control "*

In *Bombay*, it has been stated in the Government Memorandum that—

"Although the Minister for Education has received an ever-increasing percentage of the available Government funds and has actually secured increased amounts from year to year, the fact remains that the best possible methods of combining economy and efficiency in order to achieve expansion have yet to be discovered This is in an appreciable degree due to the fact that it is impossible to expect a large number of inexpert bodies, ignorant of the first principles of administration, to study true economy "†

But, as has been stated already, Government was of opinion that conflict between departmental officers and the new local authorities was to be avoided, and therefore as far as possible criticism should take the form of suggestions and anything like interference in the administration of the schools should be avoided In the course of the evidence, we gained the impression that these instructions have been interpreted very strictly with the result that not even helpful guidance is offered to the local authorities

In *Bengal*, the Government Memorandum states that—

"Although in 1916 there were a large number of primary schools in Bengal, so large that on an average there appeared to be a school for every 2 4 square miles, these schools were distributed so unequally that there were large areas without a school, while in others were many little schools indulging in cut-throat competition for the children "‡

* Report, pages 8 and 12
† Memorandum, page 37
‡ Memorandum, page 6

We understand from the same Memorandum that a Bill is in contemplation whereby a new controlling body (the District School Board) will be created, whose first duty will be "to survey the situation and find out exactly how schools must be selected, constructed or enlarged so that the children of the district can have educational facilities in the most economical and efficient manner" *

In the *United Provinces*, the Director of Public Instruction refers in the Quinquennial Review to " the opening of schools unnecessarily or in unsuitable localities",† and he urges that "had boards drawn up proper building plans and carried them out in business-like fashion, the present inadequacy and unsuitability of accommodation would have been minimised" ‡ In discussing the development of compulsion, he writes —

> "Most of the municipalities which came under the scheme in 1925 failed in the satisfactory completion of the first year's programme The scheme has not been unsuccessful, but it has not attained the degree of success that was possible There appear to be various reasons for this The enthusiasm of some boards which introduced the scheme to the sound of trumpets died away when the opening fanfare ceased Lack of success is also, in some measure, due to the lack of experience "‡

The Government Memorandum states that—

> 'the disappearance of officials (especially the official Chairmen) from the boards, faction and intrigue, lack of experience and occasionally even perversity and the 'weakness of the board's executive action' arising from the unsuitability of the whole board to act as an administrative body—all these conspire to bring about deterioration of discipline and of administration and, in the case of primary schools, of standards of teaching "§

There is evidence that the advice of inspectors is not always welcome "Except in two of the municipalities, deputy and sub-deputy inspectors have little voice in the management of the schools Rare are the occasions on which any action is taken on their notes" by the municipal boards" ||

In this connexion the Memorandum states that—

> "the advice of the inspecting staff is often invited and when given is in many cases ignored The cumulative effect

* Memorandum, page 10
† United Provinces Q R , page 12
‡ United Provinces Q R , page 67
§ Memorandum, page 106
|| United Provinces Q, R , page 75,

both on tuition and discipline is deplorable. The position is specially bad in the case of the schools managed by Municipal Boards "*

In the *Punjab*, the general policy of development has been guided very largely by Government and the boards and their chairmen (who have usually been officials) have generally shown their willingness to accept the advice of the inspecting officers But many of the Boards have been very neglectful of the needs of girls' education

In *Bihar*, the Director of Public Instruction writes —

"During the five years a new series of problems has arisen owing to the reconstitution of the local bodies, nearly all of which now have non-official chairmen and vice-chairmen In many districts wise use has been made of the more liberal grants which Government have been able to make, and the non-official chairmen appear to be more interested in education than some of the old official chairmen used to be In such cases the only difficulties that have arisen are due to the fact that the chairman cannot disregard demands made by the party on the board which happens to be in a majority, *e g* , it is difficult for him to resist pressure for the opening of new middle schools even if he feels that primary schools are more urgently needed "†

In *Burma*, in the Quinquennial Review, the Director of Public Instruction has written —

"While the work of some of the large municipalities has been carried out with success, that of some of the smaller municipalities is still far from good Were it felt that these local authorities realised their deficiencies and wanted to improve, there would be little cause for anxiety but when we hear that certain [municipalities] never invite the local educational experts to their table nor send them copies of their agenda, and that other municipalities are unwilling to give any information regarding their budget disbursements, the future cannot appear hopeful In an important town in Upper Burma, only two of the twenty members had attended an anglo-vernacular school and of these two only one had read up to the fourth standard "‡

And, in regard to district boards, the Director writes —

"There appears to be improvement and district boards are working in closer touch with the deputy inspectors, who describe the relations as 'cordial' There are,

* Memorandum, page 132
† Bihar Q R , page 14
‡ Burma Q R , pages 63 and 64

however, complaints that resolutions passed by these boards are not promptly carried out and that members are too apt to leave the working out of details to the chairman and secretary There is little doubt that in the majority of cases these men are not up to the work Much of the financial trouble (and a reference to the reports of local auditors each year will show how much trouble there is) is due to the incapacity of the secretary who is left to frame the budgets and do most of the work "*

In the *Central Provinces*, the Director of Public Instruction has written that—

"It is sufficient here to note that certain local bodies have not displayed the energy and enthusiasm which the importance of vernacular education deserves But district councils have not always received sufficient support from their own members or from the local boards One chairman of a district council says frankly that 'members of Board and Council do not seem to exhibit their keenness in the matter of supervision which, at times they do, at the time of elections' And in the majority of cases it is clear that the apparent 'apathy' is due not to any desire to obstruct, but to ignorance of the best methods of dealing with the problems of education, to financial stringency and to the unwieldy size of the councils "†

84 There is thus ample evidence that local bodies are very inexperienced in the difficult work of educational administration, that they are often reluctant to consult educational officers, and that, in consequence, there is much that is wasteful and ineffective in the present system

84*a* We now turn to the question of the appointment, promotion and transfer of teachers In England these matters, which involve much detail where the number of teachers is large, are dealt with by local bodies with the assistance of a highly trained and competent staff Local bodies in India do not usually employ such staffs, although in a few places there are executive officers for educational purposes

In most cases the executive powers in these matters are delegated by the local body, or are actually transferred by law, to the chairman (as in the United Provinces under an Act of 1928) It is on the one hand a disadvantage to place on an unpaid officer heavy administrative responsibilities, on the other hand, when abuses of power occur, they are easier to deal with if the responsibility is placed on a single individual than if it is placed on a body of persons

* Burma Q R, page 64
† Central Provinces Q R, page 50

It is a distressing feature in the present system that local bodies and their chairmen have in many instances gravely abused their powers for political and other purposes, and that teachers are being used as election agents, and are transferred at election times for the purpose of influencing elections Some of the quotations which we give below show that the teachers are now playing a considerable part in politics *

85 There is much evidence from the provincial Reviews and Memoranda that the present position is unsatisfactory in these matters and that the healthy development of primary education is being adversely affected

In *Madras*, our evidence shows that there have been many complaints regarding the recruitment, promotion and transfer of teachers on personal and political grounds, and we are informed that the draft Elementary Education Bill which is under the consideration of the local Government proposes to make the appointment, pay and transfer of all teachers in local body schools subject to the approval of the district educational officer In the same connexion the Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency states that—

> "It has to be frankly admitted that many local bodies have been unsatisfactory in their control of elementary schools They have, in many cases, viewed the control of schools and teachers as a personal matter rather than as an independent educational problem They have shown that expert advice and guidance is still very necessary and that co-operation between non-officials and the Department of Education is essential Departmental advice is often neither sought nor welcomed, with one result, amongst others, that a uniform and equitable policy becomes impossible "†

In *Bombay*, the Quinquennial Review states that—

> "Not the least sinister aspect, and one which must necessarily affect the efficiency of schools, is the political power now wielded by the teachers Teachers have been freely used for electioneering purposes in the elections both to the local bodies and to the Legislative Council "‡

* It is hardly surprising to be told that the teachers tend to use their influence with a view to improving their own conditions and pay, which, as we have seen, are often extremely unsatisfactory

† Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency, page 8

‡ Bombay Q R page 7

The Government Memorandum amplifies these statements and suggests that the teachers are becoming well aware of their political influence —

> "The primary schoolmasters employed in the schools of local authorities are a large body—about 25,000 strong—and a fairly well-organised one The village schoolmaster is frequently the only man in the village with any education, and his influence over the villagers is considerable Candidates at the elections have not been slow to realise this fact, and have done their best by promises of doing their best to improve the pay and prospects of the schoolmasters to enlist their support in their election campaigns When it is realised that the pay of these masters represents one-half of the educational budget, it is clear that a very difficult situation will arise if, by the exercise of their influence at the elections, they are going to succeed in compelling Government to increase their scales of pay "*

The Memorandum also comments on the selection of educational officers and teachers —

> " The majority of School Boards which came into existence developed strong communal tendencies, and unfortunately this attitude also influenced the selection of the executive and teaching staff "†

In the *United Provinces*, the Quinquennial Review states —

> "The powers of the chairman embrace the appointment, leave, punishment, dismissal, transfer and control of teachers As may naturally be expected, the capacity and efficiency of chairmen in different districts vary considerably Many chairmen evince a keen and genuine interest in the advancement of education in their districts, and, being men of ability and of strong character, the impress of their personality is deep and marked Others, however, are weaker, or their interest in education is slight and they are preoccupied with the other manifold duties of a chairman Being elected officers, they are susceptible to the influence of individual members or parties of the board, especially in the event of their desiring re-election, when the end of their term of office is approaching , here is probably to be found the explanation of numerous appointments of persons unqualified as teachers, of the excessive number of transfers made by them in disregard of the advice of the deputy inspector of schools "‡

* Memorandum, pages 40, 41
† *Loc cit*, page 36
‡ United Provinces Q R , pages 12 and 74

and again later :—

> "But the excessive or inopportune exercise by the chairman of his powers of transferring teachers is most potent in preventing the teacher from rendering the efficient service that should be expected of him Some inspectors report as disquieting features the number of transfers made during the currency of the school session in addition to the large number made in the annual arrangements in July In some cases teachers have been transferred and re-transferred three times during the year From many divisions come reports that transfers are made to please individual teachers or to gratify particular members of the board A glaring instance is reported of a chairman who made numerous transfers of teachers in a single day for election purposes, besides making a large number of transfers on other dates on the same account The advice of the inspecting staff in these matters is frequently unsought, and when advice is tendered it is often ignored Small wonder is it that the teacher finds it necessary to devote the greater part of his energies towards ingratiating himself with some influential member of the board in order to obtain a transfer to a more desirable locality or to secure his retention in his present desirable school The chairman of one district board writes that ' some of the teachers devote much of their time to paying frequent visits to members in order to get themselves transferred or in trying to get the order of their transfer cancelled' The effect upon the discipline among the teachers and the tuition in the schools is deplorable, and disaster must certainly follow in those districts where these practices are allowed to continue "*

In the *Punjab*, the chairman of the district board, who is generally the deputy commissioner, usually delegates his powers in these matters to the district inspector But we have been informed that teachers take an active part in party politics The Director of Public Instruction writes —

> "It is insufficiently understood what an important part the members of the teaching profession play in the actual elections to the Council With a limited franchise, the teachers form a by no means insignificant proportion of the several electorates What is far more important and dangerous is that the teachers have a political influence far exceeding their numerical value, great though the latter is In rural areas the schoolmaster

*United Provinces Q R , page 74

> is perhaps the best of all electioneering agents; and many have done good (or bad) work as such In educational circles the euphemism of "propaganda work" is well understood During my recent tours at the end of last year (just before the elections), I was informed more than once that the teachers (who were absent at the time of my visit) were engaged in propaganda work Candidates for election therefore realise the importance of conciliating the education vote, and the teachers themselves fully realise the political power which has been given to them "

In *Bihar*, the Quinquennial Review states that "undesirable persons have been appointed as teachers owing to their adherence to particular political views",* and again, that "a glaring instance of the abuse of power by the executive of the local boards is the ruthless manner in which the teachers of stipendiary primary schools are being transferred" * A specific instance is given of a teacher who was transferred to four or five places within a period of three weeks The Quinquennial Review also states that "there have been cases of deliberate interference with those managing committees of schools which disagreed with the political views of the district board authorities"* and that "funds have been collected from schools for political purposes" *

In the *Central Provinces*, the Quinquennial Review states that the members of the District Councils "desire to administer the schools down to the minutest detail"† and that they are generally reluctant to employ trained men on account of the comparatively high cost† of their salaries It is significant in this connexion that the annual output of trained teachers in this province has been reduced from 825 to 630

86 A belief has been expressed in some of the Reviews that many of these defects in administration are due to inexperience and that matters are improving

The Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces is of opinion that "these abuses are such as may be expected to occur in the early days of non-official authority, and to diminish in number as these authorities and bodies acquire greater experience and a fuller sense of their responsibilities" ‡

The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, is also optimistic —

> "It would, however, perhaps be a mistake to take too pessimistic a view The chairmen and vice-chairmen of

* Bihar Q R , pages 15, 16
† Central Provinces Q R , page 10
‡ United Provinces Q R , page 12

> the new boards were in most cases persons who had had no executive experience and the new boards were formed at a time when particular political views were very much in the ascendant Matters already show distinct signs of improvement "*

The Director of Public Instruction, Burma, writes in a similar strain —

> "It is easy to adopt a pessimistic attitude, to point to certain local authorities which have tripped up, but when we consider how sudden was the change and how small the proportion of educated men which had to bear the brunt of it, it is possible to be optimistic about the outcome "†

87 Unfortunately, there is evidence that some mistakes have been due, not to inexperience but to perversity and, what is even more unfortunate, that provincial Governments do not appear to have taken steps to reserve to themselves the means of checking such irregularities

In *Bombay*, the Government Memorandum refers to the "increase of corruption among the establishment owing to slack supervision and reluctance to dismiss or prosecute defaulters who may be of the same caste or creed as the majority of the councillors",‡ and gives a statement showing that the number of cases of embezzlement, misappropriation and other financial irregularities in connexion with local funds has risen from 15 in 1918-19 to 62 in 1925-26

In the *United Provinces*, the Director of Public Instruction, in his Quinquennial Review, quotes a statement from the report of an inspector of schools that "through influential men, teachers who have been dismissed by the district boards and even ex-criminals, have been engaged as teachers" §

In *Bihar*, the Director of Public Instruction gives in his Quinquennial Review a number of specific instances of such irregularities We quote a few of these instances :—

> "Another case involving hardship to teachers was one in which a member of a district board used his position as a means to secure from teachers loans which he did not repay "

> "Grave irregularities have taken place in connexion with the distribution of money for primary school buildings

* Bihar Q R, page 16
† Burma Q R, page 1
‡ Memorandum, page 42
§ United Provinces Q R, page 75.

> In one case, a sum of Rs 300 was sanctioned for expenditure on the house of the chairman of the local board himself "*

> "In some cases grants given by Government for particular purposes have been kept in hand for long periods or used for other purposes A particularly bad case of this kind is that of a municipality, which received a grant of Rs 17,000 in the year 1921 on a promise that it would find Rs 8,500 from its own resources, but so far appears only to have spent Rs 3,260 out of the total sum available "*

When we examined the Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, on these matters in Patna he showed us some of the relevant papers He also informed us that, although his report had been published for nearly a year, not a single one of his illustrations had been challenged

It is to be noted that, in the case of such irregularities, the local Government is unable to take suitable action because "the Local Self-Government Act of 1922 has deprived Government of all power to remove members except on the application of the Board "*

88 We feel that for the healthy advance of primary education a change is desirable It is obviously right that local affairs should be managed by local authorities, and it is not unreasonable that, in the early stages, mistakes should be made by inexperience But we are of opinion that education is a national service and that the State cannot divest itself of its responsibility in the matter, and all the more is this so in a parliamentary system of government, in which the Minister has very definite responsibilities to a Legislative Council which votes the money and has a right to know how it is spent If the goal of universal and compulsory education is to be reached, the Minister must be in a position to supervise, and to control, where necessary, the activities of local authorities

V —Services and Appointments

(a) *The Services*

89 The main hope of effective popular education depends, as we have suggested, on the definition of a well-devised policy and its continuous and consistent execution, and on efficient teaching in the schools and colleges Hence it is of the utmost importance that the Department of Education in each province should be in a position to rely on a number of men and women who will be competent to carry out most responsible duties The problem of the educational services is fundamental

*Bihar Q R , pages 15 and 16

90 The staff of the Education Department in each province is divided into three cadres —

(*a*) The Indian Educational Service,

(*b*) The Provincial Educational Service, and

(*c*) The Subordinate Educational Service

These three cadres are further divided into men's and women's branches All posts in the headquarters office (other than clerical appointments), in the inspectorate, and in the Government teaching institutions, with the exception of a few special posts, are included in one or other of these cadres

91 The Indian Educational Service has fine traditions of integrity and devotion to duty It has included scholars, heads of colleges, trainers of teachers, inspectors and headmasters of schools, who have left a deep impress on Indian education Education Departments were first established in the provinces as the result of the Despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854, but the Indian Educational Service, as such, was first constituted in consequence of the report of the Public Service Commission of 1886 Ten years later, the Superior Educational Service was reconstituted with two divisions—the Indian Educational Service, staffed by persons recruited by the Secretary of State, and the Provincial Educational Service, staffed by persons recruited in India Only a very few Indians were members of the former service

In accordance with the recommendations of the Islington Commission (1915), the Indian Educational Service was definitely formed into a separate Superior Service and all posts were thrown open to the recruitment of Indians, but appointments still rested with the Secretary of State The Provincial Educational Service was simultaneously reorganised and divided into separate provincial services At the same time, the number of posts in the Indian Educational Service was increased by 33 per cent by a transfer of posts from the Provincial Service

In 1924, all recruitment to the Indian Educational Service was stopped in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India The Commission recommended that for the purposes of local Governments no further recruitment should be made to all-India services, like the Indian Educational Service, operating in the transferred field, and that the personnel required for these branches of administration should in future be recruited by local Governments They added that if their proposals were accepted it would rest entirely with the local Governments to determine the number of Europeans who may in future be recruited

> "In this matter (they wrote) the discretion of local Governments must be unfettered, but we express the hope

that Ministers, on the one hand, will still seek to obtain the co-operation of Europeans in these technical departments, and that qualified Europeans, on the other hand, may be no less willing to take service under local Governments than they were, in the past, to take service under the Secretary of State "*

92 The following Table gives the position in regard to the Indian Educational Service in 1921-22 and in 1926-27

TABLE CXVI

Number of posts and of vacancies in the Indian Educational Service

Province	1921 22							
	Europeans		Indians		Vacant		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Madras	23	8	20	1	10	4	53	13
Bombay	27	3	23	1	7	1	57	5(a)
Bengal	30	3	27		10	1	67	4
United Provinces	32	3	11		6	1	49	4
Punjab	18	3	12		4		34	3
Burma	25	2	2		9	1	36	3
Bihar and Orissa	21	4	14		4	1	39	5
Central Provinces	16	3	7		3		26	3
Assam	7	1	2				9	1
N W F. Province	1	1	2			..	3	1
India	200	31	120	2	53	9	373	42

*Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India (1924), pages 8 and 22.

(a) Excludes one supernumerary post.

TABLE CXVI—*contd*

Province	1926-27							
	Europeans.		Indians		Vacant		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Madras	17	7	22	1	14	5	53	13
Bombay	16	4	28	1	11	1	55	6
Bengal	21	3	22	1	24		67	4
United Provinces	17	1	12		13	1	42	2
Punjab	14	2	12		8	1	34	3
Burma	26	2	4		11		41	2
Bihar and Orissa	20	2	8		4	2	32	4
Central Provinces	13	2	5		14		32	2
Assam	5		2		2	1	9	1
N W F Province	1	1	1		1		3	1
India	150	24	116	3	102	11	368	38

93 In the first place, it will be noticed that the number of sanctioned posts* has declined from 373 to 368 in the case of men and from 42 to 38 in the case of women Very few posts were created during the time of the War and hence the number of sanctioned higher posts has remained almost stationary for the last fifteen years Had normal conditions prevailed, the number would probably have been doubled, in view of the great expansion of educational activities

Equally disturbing is the large number of vacant posts, 62 in 1921-22 and 113 in 1926-27 We have no detailed information on the subject, but we understand that as a temporary measure, many of these posts have been filled by means of officiating appointments

94 The progressive extinction of the Indian Educational Service accompanied by the failure to reconstitute the provincial

*A considerable number of these posts lie outside the provincial field of education, in institutions such as Chiefs' Colleges

services (after a period of nearly five years) has been disastrous to the organisation of Indian education

As a result of the inaction on the part of Government, the number of fully qualified men and women, competent to hold the higher posts in the Department, has become totally inadequate in every province Since 1914, it has been almost impossible to recruit highly qualified Indians, since the only ordinary appointments normally open to such persons were posts on Rs 250 at the bottom of the scale in the present Provincial Educational Services Such appointments were not attractive to men with European qualifications who could secure better prospects in several other departments

We have been informed that the delay in constituting a new Provincial Service to take the place of the Indian Educational Service has been due to a number of reasons In the first place, the proposals regarding the reorganisation in the provinces had to be scrutinised by the Secretary of State in order that he might safeguard the existing rights, interests and prospects of the remaining members of the Indian Educational Service, and accord sanction to the creation of new posts carrying pay over a fixed maximum In the second place, although the provincial Governments were at full liberty to reorganise the provincial services as they thought fit, subject to the limitations already mentioned, the Government of India considered it advisable to attempt to secure some degree of uniformity in the pay and conditions of service between the several provinces We understand also that in some provinces the proposed reorganisation has been postponed from year to year on financial grounds

95 It is essential that some finality should soon be reached in these deliberations We are of the opinion that the conditions of service in the reorganised Provincial Services should be such as to attract Indian candidates with high European or other qualifications, and that arrangements should be made, whenever necessary, to recruit Europeans, on special contracts, to posts outside the ordinary cadres Without such men and women, the best interests of Indian education must inevitably suffer But, we fear that, even if satisfactory conditions of service are arranged, there may still be great difficulty in finding satisfactory recruits, mainly on two grounds

(a) The reservation of certain posts for the remaining members of the Indian Educational Service,

(b) The doubtful validity of contracts made by Government with persons whose salaries are votable

At present, under the orders of the Secretary of State, no post in the Indian Educational Service carrying a special allowance can be filled by a member of the Provincial Service unless the Secretary of State is satisfied that there is no member of the Indian Educational Service competent to fill the post In consequence of this order the post of Director of Public Instruction and the posts of Deputy Directors and Principals of Colleges will in the normal course always be filled by members of the Indian Educational Service until that Service is extinct, or smaller in numbers than the total of such posts The time is rapidly approaching when, for example, professors without administrative experience will be posted as Deputy Directors and the efficiency of administration will probably be impaired Moreover, it is not possible even now to choose from the Provincial cadres competent inspectors of schools for superior posts in the headquarters offices with a view to completing their administrative training or to strengthen the headquarters administration

With regard to the recruitment of Europeans on special contracts, doubts have been expressed as to whether a contract entered into by a local Government will hold good if the Legislature refuses to vote the pay of the officer concerned, and in one province we were informed in evidence that legal opinion had pronounced such contracts as invalid We understand that these doubts have already hindered recruitment, and we think that it is necessary to make such arrangements as will place the recruitment of Europeans on an unassailable basis When local Governments require the services of a European for special purposes, such as the teaching of English or technical subjects, a special contract, with adequate safeguards, will be necessary, since the pay and prospects of the new Provincial Services are unlikely to attract the right type of European recruit

96 In a previous section we have represented that teaching experience is usually a necessary preliminary to work as an inspector and that, in India, work as an inspector is usually a necessary preliminary to work at headquarters In our opinion, some of the inspectors ought to have had previous experience of school-work, hence, we think that a few posts of headmaster should be held by men in the superior provincial service who could be promoted at a later stage to the inspectorate and to headquarters

97 The pay of the present Provincial Service usually ranges from Rs 250 to Rs 600 by annual increments of Rs 25 with a selection grade from Rs 600 to Rs 800 per mensem The pay of the Subordinate Service ranges from about Rs 75 to Rs 250 (There are a few posts ranging from Rs 35 to Rs 75)

98 In the Provincial Service in all provinces, a direct recruit usually enters the service at the bottom of the scale, and after

confirmation in the service, receives his increment almost as a matter of course until many years later he reaches the top of the Time-Scale The only obstacle in his path is the efficiency bar, which is usually regarded as a mere formality Admission even to the selection grade appears to be largely a matter of seniority

We are unable to believe that a system which depends so largely on the claims of seniority and so little on those of merit and good work is conducive to zeal and efficiency In the Provincial Service, however, it should be borne in mind that the majority gain promotion to the Service from the ranks of the Subordinate Service and therefore enter it only at a late stage in their career and presumably after they have earned their promotion by good work

But there is nothing analogous in the Subordinate Service and here there is a grave danger of slackness and indifferent work The following excerpt from the Quinquennial Review of the United Provinces is to the point —

> "Inspectors report that the work of teachers in Government schools is not of the standard that may reasonably be expected Their remarks in this respect do not apply as yet to intermediate classes, and there are, of course, honourable exceptions to be found amongst teachers of school classes For the first two or three years after appointment the teacher generally works well, his initial zest has not worn itself out and, further, he has not yet been confirmed in his appointment But after confirmation he sees that many years must elapse before he may be considered for promotion to a headship or to a selection grade Secure in the tenure of his post and in the enjoyment of annual increment accruing to his salary without effort on his part, he too often becomes slothful and maintains his work just a little above the standard of positive inefficiency The difference in quality between the work of a teacher of ten or more years' service in a Government school and that of his brother of similar standing and service in an aided institution is not as a rule sufficient to justify the wide difference existing between the pay drawn by the two teachers "*

In the same connexion the Quinquennial Review of the Bombay Presidency for the years 1917-22 states that—

> "The introduction of a fixed incremental scale of pay for all teachers is universally criticised by the inspecting

*United Provinces Q R , page 41

staff as having tended to lessen effort and thereby having decreased the efficiency of the schools I have reason to believe that there is considerable support for such a view and that the teachers as a body worked better when their promotion depended chiefly on their individual work ''*

99 We are unable to say whether a graded system, which exists in a few provinces, is preferable to a Time-Scale By a graded system we mean a Subordinate Service divided into grades so that a member of the service has to earn his promotion from grade to grade not merely by seniority but also by approved work The objection to this system is that it imposes an excessive responsibility on the head of the Department who must necessarily depend for his information on his subordinates

100 Whatever be the system, we are of opinion that, in some provinces in particular, insufficient steps are taken to ensure discipline and good work More attention should be paid to confidential reports, which should be carefully maintained, though, in the case of an adverse report, an opportunity of explanation should always be given

101 Another matter connected with discipline has been brought to our notice It appears to be the prevalent practice in some provinces for Government teachers to supplement their incomes by engaging in private tuition In a few cases, such tuition may be advisable but there is little doubt that the practice is much abused We quote again from the Quinquennial Review of the United Provinces —

''Although the new scales of pay should have rendered private tuition unnecessary as a means of adding to the teacher's income, and an improved standard of tuition should have diminished the necessity of the pupils for such tuition, the practice still flourishes One divisional inspector states that ' there are very few teachers in Government high schools who have not taken one, or in the majority of cases two private tuitions and have not been found neglectful of their class work There is certainly something wrong with class tuition when a large number of boys find it necessary to have private tutors who, by solving all difficulties in mathematics, translation and other subjects for their private pupils, may in the long run prove themselves to be a curse rather than a blessing to them ' ''†

* Bombay Q R , 1917 22, page 59
† United Provinces Q. R , page 41.

(b) *Appointments*

102 **Appointments and promotions**—Suggestions have been made from time to time for the better regulation of appointments and promotions The Calcutta University Commission recommended that small Civil Service Commissions should be appointed in connexion with the Government of India and the provincial Governments to define the educational qualifications for various groups of posts, to conduct competitive tests among qualified candidates and "to approve all appointments made by direct nomination in cases where this method of appointment is held to be desirable"*

The Government of India Act, 1919, made provision for the establishment of a Public Service Commission to discharge "in regard to recruitment and control of the Public Services in India such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council"†

The Lee Commission of 1923-24 declared that to secure an efficient Civil Service it is essential "to protect it so far as possible from political or personal influences and to give it that position of stability and security which is vital to its successful working as the impartial and efficient instrument by which Governments, of whatever political complexion, may give effect to their policies"‡ The Commission proceeded to recommend the immediate establishment of a statutory Public Service Commission as an all-India body, but one which would be competent to advise local Governments, if invited, "the requisite link might be found in the Chairmen of the Provincial Selection Boards who should be paid full time officials appointed by the Governor-in-Council in consultation with the Public Service Commission"§ The Commission also recommended that the Public Service Commission should be the final authority for determining, in consultation with local Governments, in respect of provincial services "the standards of qualification and the methods of examination for the Civil Services whether the channel of entry be by examination or nomination"§

This last recommendation was not adopted when the Public Service Commission was established in 1926, and the omission to assign this function to the central Commission suggests that the Government of India contemplated its exercise by provincial Public Service Commissions No provincial Public Service Commission has yet been established, though a Bill has recently been introduced by the Madras Government for that purpose, nor have any steps been taken to establish provincial selection boards with full-time paid chairmen such as were suggested by the Lee Commission

* Report, Volume V, page 306

† Act, Section 96C

‡ Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India, page 13

§ Report, pages 14 and 15

103 It seems to us essential that the functions to which we have referred should be exercised by some authoritative and impartial body which might be either a Public Service Commission or a provincial selection board Education is a subject which in all countries excites great political interest and it is well that it should do so But political interest easily degenerates under representative systems of government into party interest, and the influence of party interest upon so vital a service as that of education may easily be disastrous to the nation which permits its intrusion If assurances were given that steps would be taken in the immediate future by provincial Governments to put the personnel, and particularly the higher personnel, of the service on a sound footing and to protect it against irrelevant influences, the hope of educational progress would be greatly strengthened

For recruitment to the Subordinate Educational Service, the intervention of a selection board seems neither necessary nor desirable Provided that the Director of Public Instruction is left free to exercise his powers of appointment to the Subordinate Service, he should be the best judge of the men who should be recruited each year from the training colleges and elsewhere

104 In these observations we have no intention of derogating from the proper position of the Minister The responsibility for policy and for measures necessary to secure its execution, after due consultation with his permanent advisers, is his Experience has shown that he cannot and ought not, in view of his larger responsibilities, to exercise that particular control over the personnel of his department which is necessary, but which should be left to others There is ample experience in England to show that a Minister need have no fear of the loyalty of the service of his department Indeed, it is the pride of all good Civil Services that, regardless of their personal views and prejudices, they render equally loyal service to ministers and governments of all complexions There is no reason to doubt that this tradition will be established in India as elsewhere

105 In India, it may not be advisable or possible to ignore communal requirements If such be the case, it would be better that Ministers should take the responsibility of publicly giving clear directions as to the distribution of posts in the proportions which seem to them proper, as between the different communities, than that appointments of individuals should be made on communal grounds, without any fixed principle having been made public

106 There is reason to believe that Ministers have already been exposed to considerable pressure in the matter of appointments, transfers and promotions The duties of an Education Minister who is anxious to achieve something for the advancement of education must always be arduous That he should be distracted from their performance by political pressure to use his power of patronage

in favour of particular persons—pressure which is sometimes carried to the length of undermining his position—must be as trying to him as it is detrimental to the public interest. It is probable that many Ministers would be glad to have the protection and relief of measures which placed the particular power of selection or recommendation for appointment, promotion and transfer in other hands, and which left to him only the function of laying down such general principles for the guidance of his advisers as he would be prepared to defend publicly, and then of reviewing, confirming or referring back the recommendations made to him

CHAPTER XVII.

Conclusion.

Our Review of the growth of education reveals many points of fundamental interest for the political future of India The largely increased enrolment in primary schools indicates that the old time apathy of the masses is breaking down There has been a social and political awakening of the women of India and an expressed demand on their behalf for education and social reform There has been rapid progress in the numbers of Muhammadans receiving instruction Efforts have been made to improve the condition of the depressed classes and those classes are beginning to respond to that effort and to assert their right to education On all sides there has been a desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to understand and to grapple with the complex and difficult problems of education, and large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers and willingly voted by the Legislative Councils That is one side of the picture, but there is another

Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness In the primary system, which from our point of view should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote, the waste is appalling So far as we can judge, the vast increase in numbers in primary schools produces no commensurate increase in literacy, for only a small proportion of those who are at the primary stage reach Class IV, in which the attainment of literacy may be expected In one province, despite a very large increase in the number of primary schools and pupils and in the expenditure, the number of pupils who reached Class IV was actually less by nearly 30,000 in 1927 than it was ten years previously It is to be remembered that under present conditions of rural life, and with the lack of suitable vernacular literature, a child has very little chances of attaining literacy after leaving school, and, indeed, even for the literate, there are many chances of relapse into illiteracy

The wastage in the case of girls is even more serious than in the case of boys The disparity in education and literacy between women and men so far from decreasing by the effort made is actually increasing The disparity between the wealthier parts of the country and the poorer parts also tends to increase

In the sphere of secondary education there has been an advance in some respects, notably in the average capacity of the body of teachers, in their improved conditions of service and training, and in the attempt to widen the general activities of school life But here again there are grave defects of organisation The whole system of secondary education is still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university, and the immense numbers of failures at matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste

of effort Such attempts as have been made to provide vocational and industrial training have little contact with the educational system and are therefore largely unfructuous Many of the universities and colleges show marked improvements in their methods of teaching and in the amount of original work which they have produced, and in some of them there is undoubtedly a better training for corporate life than formerly But the theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India, and we wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions They have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers

We have no doubt that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India but, as we have shown, the improvement and expansion of education do not depend merely on money Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds We were asked to report on the organisation of education At almost every point that organisation needs reconsideration and strengthening, and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment

We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate, and, holding as we do that education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the central Government with this subject We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational information for the whole of India and as a means of coordinating the educational experience of the different provinces But we regard the duties of the central Government as going beyond that We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should therefore be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies, in the interests of India as a whole

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands, with unfortunate results The relations between provincial Governments

and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment The formation of an educated electorate is a matter for the nation Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislatures have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education, and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account

The Directors of Public Instruction have been loyal and enthusiastic, but they are grappling with immense responsibilities without sufficient support The headquarters staffs of provinces should be largely increased, so that important schemes of development may be considered with greater care and the ordinary work of education supervised more effectively An increase in the inspecting staffs should lead to economy and not to extravagance The reconstitution of the provincial educational services can suffer no further delay

Despite the growing increase in girls' education, the measures taken to promote it have been inadequate The education of the girl is the education of the mother The school-education of each additional girl counts more towards the future than the school-education of an additional boy We are definitely of opinion that, in the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion

India has reached a critical stage in the development of her education, and the decisions to be made are of vital importance It will be for those in authority to consider what shall be the next step If we have taken a broad view of our reference, it is in the hope that our suggestions may be of some assistance to those responsible for the great task that lies before them

P J HARTOG, *Chairman*

L A SELBY-BIGGE,*
S SULTAN AHMED,
G ANDERSON,
NARENDRANATH †
S MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI
} *Members*

R M STATHAM, *Secretary*

DELHI,
8 March, 1929

* Sir Amherst Selby Bigge, who was in England on 8 March, informed the Committee, by a cable dated 3rd April, that he had signed the Review subject to the terms of the Note which is printed on page 348

† Subject to the Minute of Dissent on page 349

NOTE

by

SIR AMHERST SELBY-BIGGE, Bt , K C B

Taking the Review as a whole I concur generally in the views expressed in it as regards growth of education in British India in respect of performance and promise of the system and its organisation I have therefore signed it although on particular points both of expression and substance I desire to make some reservations and qualifications Chapter V does not in my opinion at all adequately present the serious defects in secondary education which are disclosed by provincial reports nor does it sufficiently emphasise need for reform in the organisation and control of the system and in instruction given in the schools I believe that a good deal more, than 'adjustment' is required Chapter VII seems to advocate a more rapid and extensive expansion of female education than is wise or practicable Although I fully agree with my colleagues as to its vital importance the facts appear to me to show that real and effective advance is for some time to come more likely to be secured by intensive than by extensive development

MINUTE OF DISSENT

by

RAJA NARENDRANATH, M L C

I regret that I differ most emphatically from my colleagues in the proposals which they have made for (1) introduction of religious education in public schools for classes desiring them, and (2) reservation of seats in schools for Muhammadans, and others if necessary Their suggestions if adopted will prove a prolific source of class jealousies and rivalries Reservations once created tend to become permanent, and can be removed only by the intervention of a third party stronger than all, or by a revolution I am therefore astonished to find that my colleagues make these proposals in order (as they think) to promote the cause of nationalism, which in my opinion their plan will most seriously damage, and that for ever

It is no doubt, in the best interests of the nation, as a whole to encourage backward sections of it to receive the full benefits of education I am as much concerned as my colleagues to see that our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen are backward especially in the field of high education in some provinces I differ from them in the method proposed to achieve the desired end

The segregate institutions which are now condemned were opened by Government at the request of the Muhammadan community There are two classes of them, "separate" and "special" institutions In the former, as described in the Review, the courses are the same as in ordinary schools, with a provision for religious teaching and the teaching of Urdu In the latter, the courses radically differ I am not quite sure, whether the community is unanimous in condemning them and whether the community realises that by these segregate institutions Muslim students are handicapped in their educational advancement If they did, there would be no difficulty They would not go to them It is obvious, as is now realised by the more advanced section of the Muslim community, that Government in pandering to the conservative tendencies of Muslims made a mistake in opening these separate and special institutions In provinces in which Urdu is not the mother-tongue of Muslims, there is a difference of opinion amongst them, as to whether Muslim students should be taught Urdu and, with it, Persian, in addition to their mother-tongue Those inclined to be more utilitarian than sentimental would discard Urdu and Persian We have not supported

the more advanced section In suggesting the introduction of religious instruction for Muslims and for others if they demand them, are we not committing the same mistake as we have been committing before, *viz* yielding too readily to the sentimental conservatism of Muslims, without waiting to allow the better sense of the community to overcome it, and in natural course to outgrow it?

The history of the policy of giving religious instruction in public schools has been described in the Review The latest orders are embodied in the Resolution of 1921, the substance of which has been reproduced The conditions attached to the introduction of religious instruction are (1) no preference to any particular religion to the exclusion of others, (2) no charge on public funds, and (3) instruction to be given outside regular school hours I am inclined to the view, that the resolution creates no facilities for the introduction of religious education Perhaps none are contemplated In the Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal, and Bombay no change took place In Bihar, religious education twice a week is said to be obligatory on all In Assam, special facilities for religious instruction are provided for Muslim boys In the Central Provinces, religious instruction is provided out of school hours, and at the expense of the communities We have made no enquiries as to the nature of religious instruction given in these three provinces, whether it has any element of reality about it, and whether the communities concerned do really appreciate it, and desire its continuance

But in Assam and Bihar the terms of the resolution do not appear to have been strictly adhered to How can religious instruction be obligatory on all if it is not given within school hours, and, if so given, the practice is in violation of the terms of the resolution I do not know what are the special facilities given in Assam to Muhammadan boys for religious instruction Is religious instruction given within school-hours? If so, the very first condition of the resolution is contravened

I really do not understand what my colleagues mean when they say "but in our opinion the time is ripe, and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans" They do not suggest in clear terms that religious instruction should be given within school-hours and at the expense of the State If it is to be given within school-hours it must be given to all, for if some refuse or if the majority refuse, the religious instruction will cause interruption in the study of the majority of the boys I observe, that according to my colleagues religious instruction for Muhammadan boys is to be provided for "in provinces in which the educational progress of the Muhammadan boys is impeded by religious

difficulties" But my colleagues forget that facilities and privileges for a class have only to be contemplated and they are at once claimed

Difficulties will, however, arise in complying with the first condition laid down in the resolution, *viz* , that no preference is to be given to any particular religion to the exclusion of others Arrangements will have to be made for the teaching of the Sikh, Aryan, Brahmo and various other religious sects The question of introducing religious instruction in schools should have been treated as a question by itself It should not have been taken up, as arising out of a vague demand made by a certain section of a particular community, and made the subject of an equally vague recommendation My personal view is, that the State ought not to undertake to determine for a coming generation the ever shifting boundary of Faith and Reason But I have no doubt, that religious instruction to be of any value can be given only in schools which are managed and controlled by persons professing that religion, In the 20th century, religious instruction in schools seldom infuses or evokes spirituality in boys Parents can do this better at home than school-masters Every religion has some cultural background, and in the case of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions which largely regulate the secular life and prescribe the social code of the communities, that back-ground is important In a school in which 75 per cent of the boys belong to one community, and in which the teaching staff is in the same proportions, religious instruction given by a single teacher belonging to the minority community is in my opinion unreal, meaningless, and in fact a farce The cultural atmosphere of which the teachers themselves set an example is absent

Mr Wetherill, who in the United Provinces conducted an enquiry in 1926 into the teaching conditions prevailing in the separate schools for Muslims and who was examined by us in the United Provinces explains why Muslims like the separate schools When questioned whether Muhammadans would like to get rid of these schools, if certain facilities were granted to them, Mr Wetherill's answer was, "I can't say" Referred to the opinions of certain Muhammadan gentlemen who held the contrary view, Mr Wetherill said, "I think it does not represent the opinion in general of the Muhammadan community, it does not represent the opinion of Julahas and butcher class" Further on, says the witness, "He" (the Muslim) "is anxious to send his son to a school where religious teaching is the dominant factor" Again, "I would put it down to a desire to send their children to an atmosphere where their own religion is taught"

modern system of education lacks in anything, it lacks from the point of view of the Muslim, in the teaching of theology Theology forms no part of the recognised curriculum in the ordinary public schools and colleges This is the result of circumstances which are the necessary accompaniment of the present conditions of life in this country The Government must keep its hands clear of all religious questions, and cannot, therefore, easily undertake the teaching of any particular theology We have the glaring fact that this country is inhabited not only by peoples of different castes but also of different creeds Any general scheme of providing religious instruction in public schools is therefore likely to involve sectarian disputes and financial difficulties There cannot, accordingly, be any one standard of theology which may be made the subject of teaching in our schools and colleges, nor is it expedient or practicable to have so many different branches of theology started by the Government for the education of boys belonging to different religions in the secondary and higher classes As regards primary schools in areas where compulsory education has been introduced, some teaching of the fundamental principles of faith is essential, if the children are not to be taken away from their ancestral religions But we cannot depend on Government ever being induced to accede to our request to open theology classes in big Government institutions The only proper places where such instruction could be given, would be Muslim institutions started by us and kept under our own management The justification for the existence of such separate denominational institutions can only be the special inculcation of theological principles and religious ideas and the imparting of Islamic culture, in addition of course, to a special regard being paid by Muslim teachers to the interest and welfare of Muslim boys"

I presume, that in referring with approval to religious instruction in primary schools, Mr Justice Sulaiman has in mind, the Maktabs and Mulla schools, in which religious instruction is given and which are maintained for Muslims at the expense of the State Further on, says Mr Justice Sulaiman —"We can easily combine both the spiritual and the materialistic ideals of education and model our policy on their harmonious fusion We can revive and maintain the old system and yet take advantage of the experience gained by the western advanced countries and utilise the researches made by them in all the departments of knowledge The obvious way of preserving the Islamic spirit and also benefiting by the modern methods is to have Muslim educational institutions, modelled on the European system, but controlled by Muslim teachers and kept under Muslim managements The ordinary public schools are wholly inadequate for the imparting of theological instruction or the maintenance of Islamic culture Islamic

schools established in large numbers throughout the length and breadth of the country alone can meet the pressing demand of a rapid educational advance and cultural progress By making them popular, parents would be inclined to send their children to school without hesitation, in the confidence that they would receive sympathetic treatment and special attention in their studies"

The learned President of the Conference also suggests the levy of a special educational cess on Muhammadans, which could only be utilised for the maintenance of separate Muslim institutions

Sir A K Ghuznavi, examined in Delhi on 2nd January, 1929, supported both the proposals made by my colleagues, but Maulvi Baidar Bakht, who jointly appeared with him, gave very guarded answers which are as follows —

Sir A Selby-Bigge, "If you give them fair opportunities for religious education in general schools, would not the demand for maktabs and madrasas disappear"?

Mr Baidar Bakht, " Yes, it would, *gradually* (The italics are mine) Firstly, provision should be made for religious instruction; secondly, representation of Muslims on local bodies, then there should be provision for reservation of seats, and I would submit also provision for Islamic culture "

Dr S A Khan, who has prepared an elaborate Memorandum, gives at pages 225—234 the Muslim demands under the head of Primary and Secondary education, but nowhere suggests that religious education be introduced in public schools, or that places be reserved for Muslim boys or that the separate schools might be abolished He wants increase in the number of Muhammadan teachers and facilities to be given for their training At Lucknow, on 31st October, 1928, he said, that separate schools were unsatisfactory, and he would like the Muhammadan boys to go and read with those of other communities, if certain safeguards were adopted He mentions those safeguards in the following order Minimum 33 per cent of Muslim teachers, hostel accommodation 33 per cent , and (then in answer to specific questions put with regard to the giving of religious instruction in schools) he says, last of all, "teaching of religious education during the school-hours, but I would suggest that it should be for about half an hour before school-hours to be given by the teachers of the different communities"

It is obvious to me and it should have been equally obvious to my colleagues, that the introduction of religious instruction will not lead to the abolition of the segregate schools, the continuance of which will depend on the intensity with which the community clings to the desire for separation Even the reservation of seats

in public schools, will not lead to the result aimed at by my colleagues In Sind and Bengal, we have reservation for Muslims in public schools, and separate schools for them exist side by side Unable to bring about the abolition of segregate schools, my colleagues are practically bringing into operation a second disruptive force, that of communal reservations in public schools It is therefore necessary to examine more closely the policy of reservations Before doing so, I would quote from the evidence of Mr Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction of the United Provinces In answer to a question by Sir George Anderson, whether, Muslim boys found difficulty in admission to public schools, Mr Mackenzie said, "I have not heard complaints that Muhammadan boys do not get admission in public schools" There is no evidence whatsoever before us, that Muslim boys as such find any difficulty in admission to public schools

I am aware that up to now reservation of places in educational institutions has been allowed, (*a*) in some arts colleges, (*b*) in some professional colleges, and (*c*) since 1921, in Bengal in some Government and aided schools In Bombay in Government and professional colleges, 10 per cent of seats, and in Government secondary schools, 15 per cent of seats, are reserved for Muslims

By Resolution No 3464, dated 30th March, 1925, of the Bombay Government, the percentage of reservation for Muhammadans in the high school of Nowshera Madrasah was as high as 75

In the Punjab, considerable resentment was caused amongst Hindus by reserving seats for Muslims and Sikhs and others in Government and Medical Colleges I do not know how the Hindus of Sind received the resolution referred to above, or how the Hindus of Bengal felt the order of reservation But so long as the policy is confined to each province separately, no general principle regulating reservations need be fixed The matter assumes a more serious aspect when in the Review of an Auxiliary Committee of the Statutory Commission, the policy is approved and its extension is recommended Many minor issues in connection with it arise How are the proportions to be fixed? Is the general rule that a majority community needs no reservation to be disregarded, as has been done in Sind and in some schools in Eastern Bengal? What is the necessity of fixing a proportion even for a backward majority? Is any weightage to be given to minorities, if so, in what proportions? Weightage given to the Sikhs in the Punjab has not satisfied them The question of reservation for depressed classes has not come to the front If weightage for minorities were allowed, the depressed classes can justly claim weightage If so what proportion of weightage is to be given to them, and by whom is it to be fixed?

I, however, strongly object to the principle, for although the State is justified in spending money on encouraging education in backward communities out of funds to which all contribute, I fail to see how the education of the nation as a whole is advanced by saying to the advanced section "stop or retard your progress till the backward communities come up to your level" In the case of secondary and primary schools, it is easy enough to open new schools to accommodate all In fact it ought not to be difficult to enlarge the accommodation and increase the staff of even professional colleges Reservation of places creates communal rivalry and jealousy in a poignant form, and when applied to schools it will infect the rising generation with the virus of mutual jealousy

My strongest objection however to the proposal is based on political grounds As an Auxiliary Committee of the Statutory Commission "primarily concerned with education and its organisation in British India in relation to political and constitutional conditions and potentialities of progress", we cannot ignore the political consequences of our recommendations whether these have to be considered by the Commission or by local Governments or the Government of India The framers of the Reforms scheme reluctantly acquiesced in the system of communal electorates, but condemned in unequivocal terms any extension of the system (See para 231 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report) They could have hardly tolerated it for regulating the admission of students to educational institutions The report of the All-Parties Conference, generally known as the Nehru Committee Report, condemns communal representation in all its phases In fact, one of the clauses of section 4, dealing with fundamental rights pp 101-103, declares all reservations to be illegal and unconstitutional The preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919 lays down the policy of Parliament for the Government of India as one of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government", and propose to give effect to this policy by "successive stages" But if each step in the progress takes us away from the goal, it can hardly be a stage towards the goal So far the principle of communal representation has been allowed for election to Councils and local bodies, my colleagues are now recommending it as a rule to be adopted where necessary for admission to schools and think that this is the best way of educating and training the "electorates" and "directing classes" in their duties as public citizens They have attached no value to the condemnation of this principle in higher quarters by those who are in a better position to form an opinion on constitutions and to which I have made a brief reference Perhaps I attach greater value than my colleagues do to the fact that the next stage in our political advance should be such as really brings us

nearer to the goal of complete responsible government I consider the proposals of my colleagues open to the criticism that with the next stage in our progress it introduces conditions or puts its seal of approval on conditions which will make further progress impossible I therefore record in words as solemn as I can command my most emphatic dissent from them I have elsewhere proposed that an indispensable condition of any further advance, should be the insertion of a clause in the constitution, which will check our fissiparous or schismatic tendencies

It is undoubtedly desirable that students belonging to all castes and communities should be educated and trained together, but starting controversies about religious education to be given to the followers of different religions and persuasions and fixing communal proportions for admission to educational institutions are not the ways in which attempts should be made to attain the object In the Punjab, considerable advance has been made by Muslims in education without raising these controversies, and I do not see why the example of the Punjab cannot be followed in other provinces New schools may be opened in tracts in which Muslims or other backward classes predominate Public schools to which all classes are equally eligible may be opened in places in which denominational or communal schools exist No purpose can be served by denouncing the segregate institutions If public schools really give better education than private schools, and if people do not attach much value to the communal atmosphere prevailing in the segregate schools, they will naturally be drawn towards public schools and the segregate schools will die their natural death In the Punjab, there is a wide net work of private and aided educational institutions different in character from private institutions in other provinces In the Punjab these schools and colleges are managed and controlled by organised associations As a rule they do not partake of the character of what are called "venture schools" in other provinces They are not started for the personal aggrandisement of the individuals controlling or managing them The circumstances under which they came into existence have been described in para I, Chapter XII of the Review

In all important towns in the Punjab, the number of students seeking admission into schools and colleges is so large that Government or the local boards would have hardly anything left for elementary education if their resources were to be utilised for opening of institutions for higher and secondary education on a scale commensurate with the demand In the city of Lahore, for one Government College there are 6 private colleges, for one Model School there are 6 or 7 private high schools I need not quote figures for other towns In many provinces, the number of private and aided schools exceeds the number of Government or board

schools The fact that in the Punjab these institutions are controlled and managed by organised associations does not detract from their utility or make them less worthy of support

I am sorry that my colleagues did not find time to go thoroughly into the question of the educational needs and requirements of Hindu and Sikh minorities in North-West India, though I supplied them with a full note and both Hindus and Sikhs gave evidence before us The Hindus presented us with a book containing some of their ideas about the educational problems of the province It seems that in looking at educational problems of the country my colleagues have been following a line of thought which has so far been in favour with Government, and which in the light of new facts coming to the surface, must be materially modified Before the Reforms scheme was introduced, only two classes, Hindus and Muhammadans, loomed large in the eyes of politicians and administrators Hindus were considered to be a majority community everywhere, and Muslims a minority community During the last 5 years, another important community called the depressed classes has come to the front, and is asserting its rights The Hindus and Sikhs in North-West India claim to be considered as minority communities Their view points present many features of similarity with those of Muslims in other provinces in which they are in a minority My personal opinion is that there is no difference and there will be no difference if it is once recognised that political problems should be faced territorially and not communally. In a system of democratic government it is impossible to discriminate between minorities But if there are circumstances which give importance to a class, they are not lacking in the case of Hindus and Sikhs of North-West India These two classes, especially the Sikhs, furnish a large quota for the British Indian Army The Hindus are educationally much advanced The fact that their co-religionists form a majority in most other provinces is a factor which does not detract from their importance, on the contrary, it adds to it No scheme of education taking into consideration its bearings on various classes is complete which ignores the claims or requirements of Hindus and Sikhs and of depressed classes Whilst considering the interests of classes, we should not ignore those also, who by a natural course of evolution, will come to the front within the next 5 years, but whose class-consciousness is now more or less in a nebulous condition The Bhumyars and Gwalas of Bihar and Orissa, the Chamars of the United Provinces, the Gonds of the Central Provinces, fall under this category

The grievances of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab centre round two points, one of which is common to both and the other particularly relates to the Hindus The Sikhs complain that Gurmukhi is not taught in the schools anywhere The Hindus complain that provision for the teaching of Hindi in schools is inadequate, as the following figures will show and that in the training

college there is no satisfactory arrangement for the teaching of Hindi —

Number of Primary schools, as it stood on 31st March 1928	1,332
Number of Secondary schools, as it stood on 31st March 1928	106
Number of Primary schools in which Hindi is taught, as it stood on 1st February 1928	462
Number of secondary schools in which Hindi is taught, as it stood on 1st February 1928	54

In the N W F Province Hindi is not taught in any Government or board school

The Hindus further complain that there are indications that for recruitment to services communal considerations outweigh considerations of merit, and that as they furnish the largest quota of students in all kinds of institutions, they are more vitally and directly interested than others in insisting that the education of the future generations should be in efficient hands The following figures show that the proportion of Hindus amongst district inspectors and asst dist inspectors is below their proportion in the population —

	Hindus		Sikhs		Muslims.	
	1921	1927	1921	1927	1921	1927
District Inspectors	15	6	3	7	10	15
Assistant District Inspectors	29	27	14	30	31	81

As Hindus are educationally the most advanced, the inference is, that in appointments made, Hindus have recently been deliberately kept back But if there are facts of which I am not aware to rebut the inference, there is nothing to complain about They therefore want that the system of recruitment should be thoroughly overhauled

My colleagues, in the Chapter relating to Muhammadan Education, have here and there adverted to inadequate representation of Muhammadans on the teaching and the inspecting staff; but they should be prepared to meet a similar claim from the depressed classes and from other classes which, though Hindus, are showing signs of nascent but distinct self-consciousness. If we once undertake to satisfy each class, that it is adequately represented in our educational service, it will become impossible to draw the line, and we will be unavoidably driven to the course of making all appointments on the basis of caste and creed The only reasonable course therefore is that all appointments in the education department should be made strictly on merit, with a reservation to meet the case of backward communities and to redress communal inequalities, the reservation being small in the case of higher appointments and larger in the case of lower appointments, but not so large as to

stultify the main provision with regard to appointments on merit. My colleagues have nowhere clearly made this proposal though there is nothing in the Review inconsistent with it I do not favour the idea of going into figures representing each class in our service, for by doing so we only sharpen communal or class appetite which we can not fully appease, without deteriorating the whole service

With regard to the teaching of Hindi and Gurmukhi, it is obvious that there is nothing to discriminate between the demands of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab and of the Muslim minority in the United Provinces and Bihar I suggested in a note which I circulated, that in any school, in which 10 students apply for a Hindi teacher, one should be provided, as is the case in Bihar, and that it would facilitate matters if from all who offered themselves for service in the education department knowledge of all the three scripts were expected My colleagues did not find time to go thoroughly into this matter They probably felt some difficulty in conceding that the Hindu minority in North-West India had the same rights as the Muhammadan minority further east The habit of looking at questions communally and not territorially is too old and too firmly implanted to be shaken off easily I am, however, unable to reconcile their attitude with their desire to promote unity between classes If educational questions have to be considered communally and not territorially, there can be no unity In the case of the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bihar, there is no difference between the language spoken by the communities The question is only one of script, and it is easy enough to learn all the three scripts As between Hindi and Gurmukhi on the one hand, and Urdu, on the other, there is a difference of the classics on which the scripts are based, and a knowledge of the script would encourage the study of the different classics Nothing is more calculated to promote unity between the communities than the knowledge amongst the directing classes of one community of the classic literature of the other community

I now pass on from the sphere of dissent to that of comment There are parts of the Review with which I am in substantial agreement, but which need some comment by way of explanation It seems to me that the picture of obstacles to Mass Education is a bit overdrawn, as far as the effect of epidemic diseases and insanitary conditions is concerned, Chapter IV, para 9 It is not possible to improve the sanitary conditions in rural areas without the spread of education Conformity with the laws of health is not possible without a proper knowledge of those laws In any country which in educational progress is at the stage at which India is at present, general conditions of health could not be better Inhabitants of countries in northern latitudes are more liable than people living in tropical countries to pulmonary diseases These cause much greater mortality than malaria Most of the epidemic diseases are

preventable, but measures of prevention pre-suppose a higher degree of knowledge than exists in India I would not therefore lay much stress on such conditions operating as an obstacle to the growth of education, as constitute a common factor in all countries in the state of educational advancement in which India is at present Malaria is no doubt very common in India, but in most parts it does not materially affect school attendance It should not be forgotten that although malaria has an enervating effect on the constitution, it does not, owing to immunity which long residence in malarial tracts confers, appreciably prevent people from following their daily pursuits, and therefore does not materially affect school attendance

I am in substantial agreement with the remedies suggested in para 26, Chapter V, but I should like to add a few words The experiment should certainly be tried and will be useful, but too much should not be expected from it, so far as encouragement of rural pursuits is concerned The following are the drawbacks —

(1) It will be some time before the amenities of rural life in India will become as attractive as those of urban life All who live in rural areas do not own land or possess the right of using it Out of those who do, the number of men who are directly interested in increasing the produce of land and who immediately benefit by it is still more limited

(2) The Punjab is the province of peasant proprietors, but in Bengal and the United Provinces there are zamindars owning large areas who receive cash rents which are by no means easy to enhance The number of men dependent on agriculture but directly interested in the produce of land is smaller Tenancy holdings are small in area In the Punjab, which is the province of small owners, fragmentation of holdings by a process of sub-division due to inheritance is in progress

(3) Tilling of the soil is hard work and for a long time to come men who have received education will be averse to such physical labour as tillage involves

With regard to the diversion of boys to industrial and commercial careers, a diversion which will be needed even for the rural boys who do not own land, or who own insufficient land, education in English will be necessary Vernacular literature is particularly wanting in books dealing with industrial and commercial subjects Even for smithy and carpentry, some sort of training in designing and drawing will be necessary and in our vernaculars there is hardly any literature on the subject

The village uplift work will have eventually to be left to the gradual progress of education I doubt if substantial results can be achieved by the State employing an agency to do the work The expenditure involved will be out of all proportion to the results likely to be achieved, not to speak of the risk that there will be

always in letting loose in rural areas so many harpies who may molest an ignorant rural population

Chapter XVI—Control and Devolution

All of us had not the fullest opportunity of discussing the subject dealt with in this chapter With regard to direction and inspection, two opposite opinions have been referred to It is held by some that inspection and direction in matters of education is a luxury which can be dispensed with, whilst others think that a competent and adequate inspecting agency in respect of schools is as necessary as agency for the inspection of a system of permanent way and works The comparative figures quoted in para 33 for England and India, indicate that the inspecting staff in India is undermanned But no general formula which will enable us to determine what constitutes adequate strength of the staff has been suggested The creation of a permanent Bureau with the Government of India will make it possible to collate facts and figures from provinces and to arrive at a general formula

With regard to the control of education by local bodies I find that the whole subject of local self-government needs a thorough examination It will present problems which are by no means easy to solve The relation of local bodies to other departments such as Medical, Public Health, Sanitation, etc , will have also to be determined and put on a proper basis The subject needs a separate enquiry So far the evidence before us has disclosed two main defects (1) Recruitment to services wherever it has been placed in the hands of local bodies has been influenced by party or communal considerations (2) Control over the educational staff employed in teaching as well as inspection is exercised in a manner which is not always conducive to public interests Both these defects can be remedied if recruitment is made by a board independent of the local bodies, and disciplinary action taken by local bodies against officials under them is made appealable to that board The insertion in the future constitution of India of a principle on which all appointments should be made and the creation of a Service Board will help in achieving the object A section in the Government of India Act appointing such a Board and the assertion of a general principle on which the Board is to act is the only way in which enactments already passed by Provincial Governments can be made nugatory in so far as they go against sound principles of administration The future Indian Parliament or the Assembly is not likely to interfere with provincial legislatures or with the details of provincial administration when provincial Governments are made more independent of the central Government than they are now

NARENDRANATH

LAHORE,

The 1st March 1929

NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO UNIVERSITIES

by

THE CHAIRMAN AND SIR GEORGE ANDERSON, KT., C.I.E., I.E.S.

The question of the relation of the Government of India to the universities has not been discussed by the Committee. We therefore wish to say that we are generally in favour of the recommendations set out in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Volume V, Chapter L, paragraphs 43—55, relating to the functions of visitation, coordination, stimulation and promotion of research. We think that the question of assistance in recruitment, dealt with in paragraphs 54 and 55, might possibly be taken over by the Inter-University Board, but on this point we express no definite opinion.

P. J. HARTOG

G. ANDERSON

8th March, 1929

Sections 43—55 of Chapter L of the Calcutta University Commission Report (Volume V), relating to Government and the Universities

43. The problem discussed in the last few paragraphs shows how impossible it is for the supreme Government of India to dissociate itself from the work of the universities. Its action must in any case deeply affect their fortunes, and however far the process of devolution to provincial Governments may be carried in the educational sphere, there must necessarily remain many functions of the highest importance which the Government of India, and only the Government of India, can perform.

44. The most important of these functions is that of issuing, or revising the terms of, the fundamental instruments—Act or Charter—whereby a university is brought into existence, and from which it derives its powers. If the university system of India is to retain a reasonable degree of unity, and to maintain a standard of training such as will be respected and recognised throughout the world, it is essential that the creation of new universities (which is likely to take place on a considerable scale in the future) should not be too lightly permitted, and that a single authority should be responsible for determining what is the degree of strength which an institution ought to

possess before it can be given university rank We urge, therefore, that the power of passing Acts or Charters constituting universities, or of modifying or revising the Acts or Charters of universities already in existence, should be reserved by the Government of India and the Imperial Legislative Council This has an important bearing upon that part of our proposals for the reorganisation of the university system in Bengal which contemplates the gradual rise of new centres of university rank in the mufassal The encouragement and assistance of these centres will be the work of the new governing bodies of Calcutta University and of the Government of Bengal But the final decision as to whether any one of these centres deserves full university rank is a matter which affects not Bengal alone, but all India, since it must influence the recognised standard of university work throughout the country The making of the decision ought therefore to be the duty of the Government of India and of the Imperial Legislative Council

45 But besides this fundamental power, which, in the nature of things, would not be often exercised, there are other functions which would influence the ordinary working of the existing universities and which ought, in our judgment, to be undertaken by the Government of India The first of these is the function of *Visitation* Hitherto there has been no attempt at a systematic and periodical survey of the work of the Indian universities We submit that the visitatorial power over all universities which is in fact inherent in the Governments of all countries, and which we have proposed to formalise by the assumption of the office of Visitor of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca by the Governor-General, should be exercised by a regular visitation of the universities at intervals of (say) five years The visiting committee should include at least one distinguished scholar from overseas, with experience of university methods and organisation in various countries, its other members should be men of Indian experience They should take a comparative view of the work of the universities, and their report should include, not only detailed criticisms, but a broad survey and an appreciation of good work wherever accomplished

46 The second function is that of *Co-ordination* It would in our judgment be desirable that the Government of India should maintain an organisation which could keep it continuously in touch with what is going on in the various universities, as well as in the other educational grades in all the provinces It might encourage, subsidise, and assist the provincial Governments in organising a variety of educational experiments, choosing for each the most suitable area, and describing and elucidating the results for India as a whole It might carry much further the useful practice which it has initiated in recent years of holding educational conferences of various types there have as yet, been no university conferences, no conferences of teachers of history or science or the like, on a sufficiently wide scale It might help to facilitate the interchange of students (within reasonable limits), and still more of teachers, between the various universities It might, above all, help to avoid overlapping, and the waste

which is apt to result from it, by encouraging universities, while making adequate provision for the general education which it is the duty of all to afford, to specialise in various kinds of work and by making it easy for students to resort to those universities in which the kind of work they needed was specially cultivated

47 There is no sphere, as we have already urged in which this function of co-ordination is more needed than the sphere of higher technological, including agricultural, training India is entering upon a period of rapid industrial development, and it is being widely recognised that the success of this development must depend largely upon the increase of facilities for technical training, both in its lower and in its higher grades But two tendencies are now perceptible, each of which is apt to be dangerous On the one hand, every province and every university is tempted to think that it ought to undertake to provide training in all the subjects needed that is the natural result of the tradition which treats the universities as water-tight compartments, each complete in itself But while such a policy may be legitimate enough in the ordinary grades of technical training, in some more highly specialised subjects, where the aim is to produce a small but essential number of highly trained experts, great care must be taken to avoid the waste and inefficiency which may arise from overlapping waste, because the provision of this kind of training is extremely costly, and ought not to be needlessly reduplicated, inefficiency, because India, like other countries, cannot find sufficiently well qualified staffs for more than a few institutions of this kind

48 On the other hand, there is a tendency to advocate the complete centralisation of work of this kind under the control of departments of the central government, and to sever it entirely from the universities This is a not unnatural tendency, in view of the methods of study hitherto pursued by Indian universities, and the curiously unpractical attitude, the pathetic trust in the efficacy of mere regulations and examinations, which the university tradition has produced among those who are now for the first time seriously envisaging these needs But to sever higher technical training altogether from university work must be bad for both bad for technical work, because such work is apt to become mechanical and unoriginative when divorced from pure science, and because it would (especially in India) fail to attract many desirable students if cut off from the University, bad for university work, which is apt to become unreal if unrelated to its practical applications Moreover such a system must involve great waste in the erection of laboratories and the provision of staffs To avoid these twofold dangers, a correlating agency for all India, working in close touch with the universities, is necessary, and such an agency the Government of India can alone supply

49 What applies to the technological subjects applies also (though in a somewhat less degree) to other fields of study less costly to maintain And in all these cases it should be noted that if there is to be a departure from the notion that every university should deal on the

same full scale with all subjects, and if, instead, the idea is to be encouraged that (in some of the higher branches of their work) universities should specialise, it follows that the central agency which helps to guide and advise the universities in this direction ought to have at its disposal considerable funds out of which to subsidise these special branches of work In the great mass of their work universities may very properly look for the necessary assistance to the provincial Governments, but for that part of their work which is calculated to attract students from all parts of India, they ought to be able to look also for assistance to an all-Indian educational authority

50 This brings us, by a natural transition, to the third great function which ought to be undertaken by such a central authority that of *Stimulating and Promoting Research* This is a duty which rests, of course, upon every university individually, every university must see that its teachers and graduates have access to the means of independent investigation, if for no other reason, for the maintenance of its own intellectual vitality But more than this is necessary, otherwise the streamlets of individual activity are apt to get lost in the sands We do not suggest that it is the duty of the Government of India to regulate and control the investigating work of the universities, any attempt in such a direction could lead only to the most unhappy results But a central authority can do very much both to stimulate and to promote this kind of work

51 As we illustrated the need of correlation from technology, we may illustrate this kindred need from the very different sphere of history All over India there exist vast masses of unorganised and unexplored historical material, in many languages not merely the contents of the Government archive rooms, but many family collections, and many records of existing or former Indian Governments, such as the admirably kept archives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam at Hyderabad, or the large Mahratta collections at Poona The history of India cannot be fully explored until these collections are made available They are not made effectively available merely by throwing open the achive rooms to scholars A student of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for example, ought to work not only at the archives in the British munniment rooms, but at the Mahratta archives, the Nizam's archives, the Sikh archives at Lahore, and a multitude of other collections Even if he could find the time for such exploration, he would find his materials in many languages and in many scripts

52 What is necessary is that all the most valuable of these materials should be printed, the most important documents in full, selections from the less important in summaries, and translated into English This work can only be carried out by a great co-operative enterprise, it cannot be achieved by the sporadic endeavours of isolated university scholars Like the corresponding treatment of the English archives, which are in some ways, though more complete, less complex and varied, it will only be possible if it is undertaken by Government, enlisting the services of a large number of scholars drawn from among the university teachers of all parts of India, fixing

the main plan of the work, and entrusting to qualified men, under a competent general editorship, the production of a great series of *monumenta historica Indica* The result of such an enterprise would be, not merely that the materials for Indian history would be made available, but, what is far more important, that the methods and spirit of sane and scholarly historical investigation would receive an immense stimulus in all the universities, like the stimulus which was given to English historical scholarship by the preparation of the Rolls Series and the Record Office publications India needs nothing more than a wide diffusion of that sanely critical spirit in dealing with men and institutions which historical investigation should create This spirit will grow but slowly if it is left to the disconnected and unassisted spontaneous effort of individuals

53 In other fields other methods might be appropriate, but in all fields there is room and need for intelligent suggestion and assistance from a central organisation closely in touch with the work going on in all the universities An annual survey of the independent work going on in Indian universities, made by competent persons, would form the basis on which a system of grants-in-aid of particular investigations might be organised such grants might be modest in amount, and yet serve a very useful purpose of encouragement and stimulus In the same way much good might be done by small grants to those all India learned organisations which are striving, against great difficulties, to create in their own fields an Indian community of learning But grants of these kinds could only be administered by a competent and well-informed central authority, closely in touch with all the work of the universities having access to the advice of scholars in all fields, and so wisely guided that it would not be misled as to the real value and seriousness of the various kinds of enquiry brought to its notice There would have to be, not a mere office organisation of administrators and clerks, but something much more flexible and less fixed in composition, and there would be much to be said in favour of some method of calling into council for short periods, such as would not permanently divert them from their main work, scholars and men of science of various types drawn from all the universities and all the provinces

54 A fourth vitally important service which the Government of India ought to be able to render to the universities is that of giving *Assistance in Recruitment* and of keeping them in touch with the available field of suitable candidates for their teaching staffs, both in India itself and elsewhere In the Indian university system there is a real danger of too much inbreeding In too large a proportion of cases the teachers, being students of the university they are called to serve, have no experience of any other traditions or methods of work A central organisation, in touch with the work of all the universities and colleges, would often be able, without invading the responsibility of the individual university in the selection of its own teachers, to supply, in an informal and confidential way, useful information and advice about suitable men of promise who might be drawn from other provinces, and would thus facilitate that interchange of teachers which

is so much to be desired, and which the use of a common medium of instruction renders possible

55 Yet more important would be the service which it would be able to render in helping the universities to explore the available field of suitable candidates in other countries, and especially in Great Britain It is one of the recommendations of the service system that it unifies and simplifies the recruitment of those European teachers whose aid India needs to day, when, as we hope, she is entering upon an era of great advance, quite as much as she has ever needed them in the past We have seen reason to urge that the service system, in its present form, has now outlived its usefulness as a mode of recruitment for university work But if it is to be replaced by a scramble, in which each university separately—few of them being as yet well known to European scholars—is to issue its independent invitations, the results may be far from happy The Government of India might, with very great advantage, become the medium of communication between the universities and the possible recruits for their teaching work whom they wished to bring from Europe, America or the Dominions It could perform this function all the better if it possessed an organisation which enabled it to obtain ready access to the best sources of information, and if it was in touch, as we shall suggest below that it should be, with a well organised Bureau of the Universities of the Empire It could supply intending candidates with clear information as to the standing of the university which had a post to fill, and as to the kind of work, and the conditions of life, they might expect An invitation coming through the Government of India would carry a weight which it would not otherwise possess

NOTE ON BOARDS AND COMMITTEES FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION

by

THE CHAIRMAN AND DR MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI, M L C

In Chapter VII, paragraph 24, we have referred to the proposal that there should be special boards or committees for women's education. We are generally in favour of the formation of such boards or committees Their constitution would no doubt vary with the purpose for which they were formed but in general we are of opinion that they should include both men and women, although they should have power, as the Calcutta University Commission suggested, to form sub-committees including purdah women * In cases where the body formed was a committee of a superior body we think that it should have the right, if it were over-ruled, to publish its recommendations and make them known to higher authority It has been pointed out in the course of our Review that men's direct knowledge of girls' schools in India must necessarily be imperfect, since there are many which they cannot visit under existing conditions It is, therefore, of importance that the views of boards consisting largely of women on matters concerning women's education should not be suppressed

For similar reasons we are of opinion that in cases where the Director of Public Instruction differs from the view of the Deputy Directress or other chief officer for women's education in the department on important matters regarding girls' education her written statements should be transmitted to the Minister One of our colleagues, Sir Lewis Amherst Selby-Bigge, in his book on "The Board of Education" writes with reference to the duties of the Permanent Secretary to the Board, who is its chief officer, "It is not the practice for other officers to approach or refer directly to the Minister, except in compliance with the Minister's express instructions or at the request of the Secretary, but if there is a serious difference of opinion between the Secretary and any of the other principal officers the Secretary would be foolish if he did not take the decision of the Minister upon it "†

The fact that on many matters the Director of Public Instruction cannot have first-hand information in regard to girls' education makes it, in our opinion, necessary to provide the safeguard which we have suggested

P J HARTOG

S MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI

8th March, 1929

* Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol IV, Chapter XXXVI, para. 5

† The Board of Education, by Sir Lewis Amherst Selby Bigge, Bt, K C B, G P Putnam's Sons, Ltd 1927, page 71

NOTE ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION

by

DR MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI, M L C

As the work of this Committee is largely a study of the existing educational conditions of the country in relation to the extension of the reforms, franchise and further constitutional advancement, one of the first questions on which a clear understanding is necessary is—what is the value to be attached to literacy and education as factors in political evolution? So I feel bound to distinguish between literacy and education in the larger sense of the term as meaning the intelligence-level of a people, however produced If I may illustrate by an example, I would point out that however uneducated the Hindu men and women may be from the point of view of book study, most of them have an ample understanding and knowledge of the great legendary lore of the race—the epics like the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and in Southern India the life history of a great many Tamil saints and their works, etc Sivaji, the soldier-statesman, is said to have derived his inspiration from the tales of the Ramayana and Mahabharata There is not a village in India where this lore is not propagated by the traditional method of story-telling, street dramas and other oral and visual entertainments I need not add that in the towns, theatres are performing a similar function, though I am not sure that from the point of view of real culture and moral inspiration they are on a par with our classical methods

In the case of Muslim girls also one or two illuminating factors should be noted Most girls are taught to read the Koran, which means some training, however elementary, in their sacred classical language of Arabic Since the Muslim girls are not allowed to have their dresses made by men, most of them know how to handle the needle effectively

If thus a distinction between literacy and the general intelligence level can be established a clearer conception of the latter becomes necessary for purposes of the present investigation How is it brought about and maintained? What are the ways in which it manifests itself? What is it that determines the spirit of a people? What is the place of book knowledge in this determination?

Religion, moral and material conditions, acting and reacting upon each other, the influence of the times, recent history, the examples of noble individuals, and the entire environment, shape the individual and the race conduct and character That

there has been a tremendous awakening in India—individual, communal and national—cannot be denied and there has been a struggle for a larger and a freer life to which women in no small measure have responded The recent Social Conference of Women at Calcutta and the All-India Educational Conference of Women at Patna, both of them attended by women delegates from all parts of India, will bear testimony to the above statement

From the departmental statistical figures we see that the percentage of girls under instruction for the whole of British India is only 1 5 per cent while the corresponding percentage for boys is 7 per cent Thus girls' education has very much lagged behind that of the boys and the disparity between the boys and girls is increasing every year These figures in my opinion deserve analysis from different points of view

When the British took over possession of India, we read from the writings of the great Indian Reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, that the education of women north of the Vindhya Mountains was in a very backward condition The Government when they began their educational policy in India, restricted their efforts to the male population "No funds were allotted to the girls' education The problem was not seriously considered" says Arthur Mayhew

Even at that time Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who pleaded with Lord William Bentinck for the abolition of the cruel custom of "Sati" pleaded with his orthodox country-men for the provision of equal educational facilities for his country women, quoting authorities from the sacred books of the Hindus to prove that the Hindu women had never been debarred from the acquirement of knowledge

It was, however, in 1849 that a member of the Bengal Government, the Hon'ble Mr Bethune, founded a school for Hindu girls in Calcutta despite the cry that "the home was in danger" and induced Lord Dalhousie to override his timid advisers and to lay the duty on the Bengal Council of providing funds for girls' as well as boys' education

Again, the system which was originally planned to meet the needs and the requirements of boys was not a suitable one for girls Education, to most parents in those days, had only a commercial value, as it paved the way to high Government posts So boys had to be educated as a matter of economic necessity for wage-earning purposes and had to be equipped with a degree for Government service, but in the case of girls no such need existed Further, the non-inclusion of subjects useful to home-life, such as domestic science, home nursing, drawing, sewing, and painting and the adoption of a curriculum unattractive to girls and bereft of any real economic value, failed to popularise the girls' education in a country where even at the present day the majority of the people believe

that wifehood and motherhood are the only legitimate functions of a woman and that she should be trained with those objects in view

Another great drawback of our educational system is the entire dissociation of religion from education To the Hindu mind, culture and true learning can be acquired only from a study of his classics, the Vedas and Upanishads, Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharata So the parents scrupulously avoided sending their girls to the English schools, as they did not like that their women, whom they look upon as the repositories of their religion, their holy tradition and their culture, should be influenced by western ideals, and a mode of living so alien to their nature and surroundings, the absence of religious teaching has deterred the Hindu parent from sending his girls to receive instruction at such schools, it has done much more harm to the Muhammadan girl whose parents insist on Urdu and Koran teaching even in boys' schools

These have been the main causes that have retarded the growth of girls' education in those provinces where purdah does not exist and with that section of people that does not practise early marriage That is how conservatism on the part of the parents in regard to the education of their girls and prejudice against the English schools could be accounted for

Even in the early 19th century the Christian missionaries were the lonely pioneers in the field of women's education in this country and though at that period their schools did not find favour with the majority of our people, yet to-day, one and all will admit that the Indian women have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude for the very valuable contribution of the several Christian missions to the cause of women's education and uplift in India.

What is the state of women's education in India to-day

In every province there is sufficient evidence to show that there is a keen desire on the part of women themselves for education and knowledge, and there are many indications that the enlightened as well as the illiterate public are more and more demanding education for their girls and women

"The interest in women's education evinced by the legislatures, the appointment of committees to enquire into the state of women's education as in the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Punjab and Bihar, the introduction of compulsion for girls by local bodies in a few areas, the demand for the postponement of the age of marriage and the relaxation of purdah all witness to the changing attitude towards the position of women and their education"

The demand on the part of people for education of their girls does not merely consist in asking Government for the provision

of facilities, but has actually led to definite action, on their part to improve and develop their girls' education In every province both mission and non-mission agencies are actively at work in the field of women's education, I may mention just a few of such activities —In *Calcutta*, the educational activities of Lady Bose, Mrs P K Ray, and Mrs A S Hussain deserve praise, so also the work of the famous 'Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association' whose headquarters are at Calcutta, it has 222 women's institutions in the districts of Bengal for women's uplift

In *Bombay Presidency*, Professor Karve's University with its three colleges, 16 schools and Poona Seva Sadan social, medical, cultural and educational industrial activities—and other Parsi and Mahratta women's educational and social centres are doing admirable work to promote women's education in that province

In the *Punjab*, there are excellent institutions such as Sir Lala Ganga Ram's Widows' Home, his Industrial Home for Widows and his other benefactions towards the social and educational advancement of women, the Arya Samaj settlement—Kanyamahavidhyalaya, Jullundur, the Islamia, the Sikh, the Sanathana Dharma missions are all engaged in the same philanthropic activities Space and time forbid the mention of similar social service institutions in other provinces conducted by able and devoted men and women

Then the question naturally arises, why in spite of all these is women's education so backward even in non-purdah provinces like Madras, Bombay and Burma A close examination will reveal the fact that the slow growth and development of women's education during this quinquennium even in those provinces where conditions have been favourable, has been mainly due to the lack of funds to finance the new and revised schemes—to improve the existing schools, to start new schools, to increase the inspecting staff, to open separate arts and training colleges for women where conditions for advancement are favourable, to create more facilities for the training of women teachers so as to enable them to live comfortably in the village parts

The *Madras Quinquennial Review* says —"There are large areas in which, chiefly owing to the absence of any secondary school for girls, practically no girls are at school Where educational facilities are offered for girls there is generally a quick response on the part of the parents and the public With the provision of a larger number of new girls' schools, a very much larger number of girls could be brought under instruction" The report of the Principal on the Lady Willingdon Primary and High School for Girls says admissions had to be restricted for want of space

In *Bombay* the educational inspector, N D , reports that—'There is a great demand for girls' schools, but owing to the financial stringency no new schools are opened and girls learn with boys But, if there were separate girls' schools, the number of girls in schools would show a greater increase ''

In Burma, where social disabilities are nil, for want of suitable facilities, girls' education has not progressed satisfactorily

Leaving the non-purdah provinces and coming to a purdah province, Bengal, what do we find? The few high schools in the city of Calcutta are overcrowded beyond the hygienic limit and girls seeking higher education, even though they are prepared to pay double fees, are not able to secure admission into the existing schools for lack of space

There is clear and definite evidence to show that the dearth of women teachers in Bengal is due to the absence of training facilities rather than to the unwillingness of women to take to the profession of teaching and to the obstacle of purdah The same applies to the United Provinces, the Punjab and even to the most backward of all provinces, Bihar and Orissa, where strict purdah exists The Principal of the High School at Patna has written that many Muhammadan and Hindu women have been refused admission for want of accommodation Miss Whitaker, the missionary Principal of the St Margaret's Training School, Ranchi, has stated that if more stipends had been granted to her school, she could have taken in more women for training

Women Teachers

Many deplore the fact that women teachers in India are not available in sufficient numbers to staff even the girls' schools and women refuse to go to work in the villages Let us now examine the facts as they are

In the Madras Presidency there are a number of trained secondary women teachers who are without employment, and throughout British India, thousands of women are teaching in village schools with a meagre salary per month hardly enough for a man or a woman to make both ends meet, and we have been informed that in certain districts the women teachers have not been paid at all for months together

'If we only offer an attractive salary and provide the young inexperienced women with convenient quarters near to their schools, we should be attracting thousands of educated women to the teaching profession

It is true that women teachers who are brought up in the city and used to the town conditions are rather reluctant to go to the villages unless special concessions are shown We know that boys

who have been brought up in towns are reluctant to go and serve in villages It is no wonder that girls share the same view because the primary teacher's pay is so meagre that she cannot afford to employ a servant who would cook her food, bring water from a distant well and look after her home during her absence

As the system of boarding with other families does not obtain in India and as the letting of houses is not common in villages, she finds it rather hard to secure a house for herself near to her school Moreover, the primary school woman teacher, possessing a very poor educational qualification, is unable to adjust herself to the new life and environment and hence fails very often to command the respect of the illiterate villagers

The remedy lies in offering a salary sufficient to attract women of better educational qualifications for training, by largely employing village women to teach in village schools, and by the women Inspectresses undertaking the responsibility of finding suitable homes for them in the villages

Many social service and religious organisations are training a large number of widows in every province for the profession of teaching who are very devoted to their work and who have made successful teachers in the villages, for example, the Seva Sadan organisations, the Lady Bose Widows' Home at Calcutta, Theosophical Colleges, Sir Lala Ganga Ram Widows Home in the Punjab, the Arya Samaj schools, etc The women who are trained under the auspices of these missions are religious-minded and selfless workers If only the Government would finance these philanthropic organisations liberally we should very soon have a large supply of devoted and pure spirited women missionary teachers to meet the demand

Other avocations for women

The question of employment of women in public services ought to be liberally explored At the high school stage subjects like home-nursing, first-aid, etc , may be introduced Domestic arts and sciences, tailoring, fine arts, teaching, stenography, typewriting, book-keeping, telegraphy and other commercial subjects—all these should figure at the high school stage

The Poona Seva Sadan's activities furnish a good model for similar institutions Already there are two at Madras—the Sri Sarada Ladies' Home and the Madras Seva Sadan—giving free board and lodging and instruction to widows and destitute women who will ultimately be qualified as teachers, nurses, midwives, matrons, health visitors, and as vocational teachers Those that have an aptitude for higher studies, arts or professional, are provided with scholarships and trained for higher professional courses

as in medicine, teaching and law As Mr C R Reddy, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, has said in his Convocation address delivered recently to the graduates of the Mysore University, "they will be absorbed too in ways more natural and healthful to themselves and to society than has been the case till now with the one-sided education they have been getting—an education which does not fit in with the scheme of life of the vast majority of women" To find employment for the trained men and women and to find a market for their manufactured products, an employment bureau and a sale agency in each district should be instituted as in the Philippines

Early marriage

The custom of early marriage obtaining among higher class Hindus is a great hindrance to the educational advancement of the Hindu girls As is so very well brought out in the various provincial reports, with each higher standard the wastage of pupils increases and thus more than 90 per cent of the girls leave the schools before they finish their primary stage of education with the natural consequence that many of them very soon relapse into illiteracy Following the example of the higher caste Hindus, even the other classes that do not practise early marriage withdraw their girls from the schools before they acquire the necessary knowledge for the due performance of their domestic duties So, as our Review says, the money spent on these girls is a waste In the words of an eminent educationalist (Arthur Mayhew) "it would be as easy, and far more profitable, for a provincial Government to legislate against child marriage as to enforce the regular school attendance after puberty And without such conditions such compulsion would be merely a dramatic and expensive gesture" So I am firmly of opinion that legislation for the prevention of early marriage will be a sure and effective means of keeping girls longer in the school and thus promoting their higher education because "a nation's progress is impossible so long as motherhood is accepted before the real fruits of education have begun to ripen"

Illiteracy is the cause of our social backwardness

The above facts lead me to the conclusion that if a liberal policy had been adopted and if more money had been made available for financing the new and revised schemes for the improvement and development of women's education a larger number of girls and women could have been easily brought under instruction and with the rapid spread of education and knowledge among the women's population even our social problems would have solved themselves automatically

Caste distinctions, early marriage and purdah are found to persist so long as the mothers of the nation are kept in darkness and ignorance of the rapidly changing world conditions

'If education is really going to bring in its train social reform, better sanitation and improved public health, it is going to achieve this result only through the education of its women '* In spite of the above facts, only a small amount of money was made available for girls' education as is seen from the figures, because what little money the Department had was spent on boys so as to enable them to earn their livelihood and a very small amount of money was left for girls So much so that at the time of financial stringency, the first to disappear were the girls' schools

The importance of religious and moral instruction in schools

Many of our witnesses, particularly the women, in their evidence have emphasised the need for moral and religious instruction in girls' schools, in support of which they have stated that when lessons from the Ramayana, and Mahabharata are given, the Hindu parents willingly send their girls to such schools Also our study of the educational institutions in British India reveals that the several denominational institutions have resulted from the genuine desire on the part of the several communities to give a religious bias to the education of their children

In this connexion I desire to point out that the divorce of religion from education has been one of the foremost causes that has hindered the growth of girls' education in the past and has done not a little harm to the Hindu community

An eminent educationist of India writes —"An educational system which is to be in the full sense morally effective must rest on a religious foundation "

In our schools and colleges I know that knowledge is imparted to our boys and girls without at the same time developing in them the desire to use that knowledge for the benefit of the community and without developing in them to the full the citizen qualities The cultural and the character forming value of education is absent from our present day school system

In a highly spiritual and religious country like India whose literature, history, works of art, painting, music and architectural monuments pulsate with religion, and are saturated with it, in a country whose millions live in a religious atmosphere, whose daily habits and practices have all a religious meaning, whose men and women of the past in a spirit of religious intoxication have borne patiently the severest ordeals of life—in such a country to divorce religion from education has produced the saddest of results

* A Report on the Development of Elementary Education in the Madras Presidency, page 26

The very birth of numerous denominational schools and colleges Arya Samaj, Brahmo, Theosophical Sanatana, Islamia and Sikh, is a clear indication of the desire on the part of the people to have religious teaching in association with secular, and the failure of the Government institutions to satisfy that natural and normal craving of the human soul Even though many of these denominational institutions are efficiently conducted, are highly popular, and doing valuable work by creating a religious atmosphere and by thus infusing into the minds of their pupils a godly spirit, a spirit of love and service to their community, still in the interest of national unity and national solidarity I am not inclined to advocate their continuance in the future, because of the poison of sectarianism that characterises those institutions

The differences due to caste, and communalism, which are the obstacles to a healthy nationalism, could be annihilated only through the recognition of common ideals and interests, through common faith, through the development of a co-operative spirit among our younger generation, through mutual trust and mutual love and service, through love for one's own country and for one's own people—which nation-building qualities could be imbibed only from a study of the life history and teachings of our great saints and prophets

Arthur Mayhew rightly observes "Progress is possible only if imagination is stirred, and set in action by drawing attention to what is spiritually great in Indian religion, to the cloud of oriental witnesses, to the lives and teachings of saints and heroes such as the Buddha, Ramanuja, Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya"

Therefore I am in full sympathy and perfect agreement with the legitimate demand of the Muslim community for the compulsory teaching of their religion to their pupils Further, I am firmly of opinion that the enlightened Muhammadan men and women are the better and the wiser for their strict adherence to their faith, and I am perfectly certain that with the wide spread of education among that community—education based on the sure foundation of religion—they would make ideal citizens and better servants of humanity

The existence of caste and the present disorganised and divided state of Hindu society, I would largely attribute to our ignorance of the highest tenets of Hinduism, and the utter inability of the present generation to interpret rightly the thoughts of our great men and women to the mass mind, even that desire, that intense longing to serve humanity in the larger sense is wanting in many of our present day university graduates—which, I firmly believe, is due to the imparting of mere knowledge to our pupils without at the same time cultivating in them a love of service for the depressed, for the poor, the sick and the suffering The ancient

Hindu culture and the thoughts of our great men and women are embodied in the Vedas, Upanishads, Gita, not to speak of the works of the Tamil saints and poets such as Thayumanavar, Tiruvalluvar and Yuwwai Though they may be mixed up with myths and legends still one cannot afford to ignore their moral, spiritual and cultural value to the nation, nor their character-forming power if only a careful and critical study of such a literature is encouraged in our students, and if only proper discrimination is exercised in the selection of text-books for the use of the young minds

It goes without saying that character is very essential for the building up of a healthy national life, and such a character must result from the assimilation of whatever is best in the past and the present, and whatever is worth having from the literature of the East and the West, as an eminent educationist says "The moral progress of a nation cut off from and ignorant of its cultural and spiritual antecedents is inconceivable"

Hence the inclusion of religious literature, selected pieces from the Vedas, Gita, and Upanishads will make education popular among the Hindus, will attract more girls to our schools and colleges by creating an impression on the people's minds that modern education will not westernise their women, but will keep them to their ancient faith and tradition In a mixed school of Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians, separate classes for each will have to be held by their respective teachers until a common syllabus based on universal faith acceptable to all creeds is drawn up

Call it moral, spiritual or religious teaching, whatever you like No education can be complete if it is dissociated from the daily life of the people and if it takes the pupil away from the cherished thoughts and ideals of his ancestors, and no education can fulfil its chief purpose if it is not going to train patriotic, useful and selfless citizens to serve humanity

A State that is interested in the moral and spiritual welfare of its people cannot divest itself of this responsibility

S MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI

APPENDIX I.

Itinerary of the tour of the Committee.

16th June 1928 .	The Committee (Members present in India) assembled at Simla
16th and 17th June 1928	Meetings at Simla
17th June 1928	The Committee dispersed
16th September 1928	The Committee reassembled at Calcutta *en route* for Rangoon
18th to 21st September 1928	Rangoon
22nd to 24th September 1928	Mandalay
24th September 1928	Visit to Maymyo
25th September 1928	Visit to Sagaing
26th and 27th September 1928	Visits to Ngazun, Myinmu and Myingyan
1st to 6th October 1928	Madras
7th and 8th October 1928	Hyderabad (Deccan)
9th to 16th October 1928	Poona
19th to 22nd October 1928	Lahore
23rd and 24th October 1928	Visit to Lyallpur.
25th and 26th October 1928 .	Visits to Ghakkar and Moga.
27th October 1928 .	Visit to Rayya and Amritsar.
28th to 30th October 1928	Lucknow
30th October 1928 ..	Visit to Biswan
31st October to 1st November 1928	Cawnpore
1st November 1928 .	Visit to Jhunjhak
2nd to 16th November 1928	Delhi
17th November 1928	Visit to Gurgaon
18th to 22nd November 1928	Delhi
24th to 30th November 1928	Calcutta
26th and 27th November 1928	Dacca
1st to 4th December 1928	Patna
5th and 6th December 1928	Benares
7th December 1928	Allahabad
9th December 1928 to 13th January 1929	Delhi

15th to 19th January 1929	..	Calcutta	.. A conference with the Indian Statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee was held on 16th January 1929 Sir Amherst Selby Bigge left Calcutta for England on 17th January 1929 The three Indian non official members of the Committee dispersed at Calcutta on 19th January 1929
20th January to 5th March 1929		Delhi	The Chairman, Sir George Anderson and the Secretary remained on duty to carry out the revision of the Review and its completion for signature
6th to 8th March 1929	...	Delhi	The Committee, with the exception of Sir Amherst Selby Bigge, re assembled for the consideration and signature of the Review in its final form
8th March 1929	...	Delhi	... The Committee dispersed
9th March to 2nd April 1929	..	Delhi	.. The Chairman and Sir George Anderson remained on duty to see the Review through the press for submission to the Indian Statutory Commission Sir George Anderson proceeded on leave from 28th March The Chairman reverted to the Public Service Commission on 2nd April The Secretary proceeded on leave to Europe on 15th March

APPENDIX II

Questionnaire issued by the Committee

The following questionnaire is issued by the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission All persons and associations interested in the subject matter of the questionnaire are invited to send replies (in the form printed in the Note to the Questionnaire) to the Secretary of the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, Government of India, Simla —

1 Do you consider that the growth of education during the last 10 years in the part or parts of India with which you are personally acquainted has been satisfactory?

(The subject should be dealt with under the following headings —

(*a*) primary education,

(*b*) secondary education,

(*c*) university education,

(*d*) the training of teachers,

(*e*) technical (including commercial) education,

(*f*) girls' and women's education,

but you are requested only to deal with those branches with which you have a personal acquaintance)

2 If your answer to question 1 is in the negative, please state the reasons which in your opinion have led to an unsatisfactory result, classifying them under the headings —

(1) administrative,

(2) educational,

(3) social,

(4) financial,

and indicate concisely on what lines improvements should be made in each branch with which you deal

3 You are invited after dealing with questions (1) and (2) above to submit separate memoranda on any of the subjects enumerated below —

(1) The application of compulsion in primary education

(2) Moral and religious instruction and character-training

(3) Education of the following special classes —

(*a*) Muhammadans,

(*b*) Sikhs,

(*c*) Europeans and Anglo-Indians,

(*d*) Depressed classes,

(*e*) Hindus in those provinces in which Hindu education presents special problems

You are requested only to deal with those subjects with which you have a personal acquaintance

4. You are invited to submit separate memoranda on any new *departures or experiments with which you are personally acquainted* in—

(*a*) primary, and especially, village education,
(*b*) secondary education,
(*c*) university education,
(*d*) the education of girls and women,
(*e*) the training of boy scouts and girl guides,
(*f*) physical training generally,
(*g*) medical inspection and treatment of school children,
(*h*) the teaching of hygiene,
(*i*) the use of popular libraries, including travelling libraries,
(*j*) educational broadcasting,
(*k*) night and continuation schools for children,
(*l*) adult education (including popular lectures and university extension work),
(*m*) technical education (*i*) for manual workers, including foremen and (*ii*) higher,
(*n*) educational work by co-operative Societies,
(*o*) education for social service

(*Note* —The question of agricultural education has been dealt with recently by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and it will be unnecessary to resubmit evidence given before that Commission.)

5. You are invited to submit memoranda on any points which you regard as of importance for the growth of education, of which you have a personal knowledge, and which are not covered by the headings given above

Note on answers to the Questionnaire of the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education of the Indian Statutory Commission and on Memoranda to be submitted to the Committee

In submitting answers to the questionnaire and memoranda, contributors are requested to comply as far as possible with the following directions —

(1) To append to the first sheet a statement in the form printed below duly filled up
(2) To submit the answers or memoranda either in type-script, or clearly written on ruled foolscap paper, before August the 22nd
(3) To divide the answers and memoranda into numbered paragraphs
(4) To conclude the answers and memoranda by a summary of the principal points and recommendations, if any

Form (to be used as the first sheet of answers to the questionnaire and memoranda submitted to the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education of the Indian Statutory Commission)

(1) Name of author, followed by degrees or other University distinctions, and name of University at which they have been obtained The name should be written in block capitals

(2) Present official or other position

(3) Postal address for the purposes of acknowledgment

(4) Sections of questionnaire to which answers are submitted and titles of any memoranda submitted under No 5 of questionnaire

(5) Statement of experience on which the answers or memoranda are based

(6) Signature

(7) Date

APPENDIX III.

List of witnesses who gave oral evidence before the Committee.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Official.

1 Mr G S Bajpai, C I E, C B E, I C S, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands

2 Mr R Littlehailes, C I E, M A, I E S, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India

MADRAS.

Official.

1 Mr S H Slater, C M G, C I E, I C S, Commissioner of Labour

2 Mr R G Grieve, M A, I E S, Director of Public Instruction

3 Mr M A Candeth, B A, O B E, I E S, Deputy Director of Public Instruction

4 Mr H Champion, M A, I E S, Principal, Training College, Saidapet

5 Miss I H Lowe, M Sc, I E S, Deputy Directress of Public Instruction

6 Sister Subbalakshmi, B A, L T, Head Mistress, Lady Willingdon Training College, Madras

7 Mrs Gaurie Sankunni, M A, L T, Head Mistress, Government Girls' Training School, Cannanore

Non-Official.

1 Khan Bahadur Muhammad Hussain Sahib, representing the Indian Educational Association of South India

2 Khan Sahib T M Moidu Sahib, President, District Board, Malabar

3 Rev J H Maclean, B D, U F C., representing the Missionary Educational Council of South India, Arkonam

4 Miss A B Van Doren, B A, Principal, Girls' High School, Chittoor

5 Mr S Arpudaswamy Udayar, B A, L T, M L C, Trichinopoly

6 Diwan Bahadur T Varadarajulu Naidu, Madras

7 Mr M N Nityananda Mudaliar, Avl, Secretary, Madras District Teacher-Managers' Association

8 Mr M Shamnad, M L C

9 Mr K Ramiah Chettiar, Avl, Head Master, Ramanujam Chetti Elementary School, G T, Madras

10 Rao Sahib L C Guruswami, Avl, M L C

11 Rev Father A F Theodore, Head Master, St Mary's High School, Madras

12 Mr V Ch John, B A, B L, M L C, President, District Educational Council, Guntur

BOMBAY

Official.

1 The Hon'ble Mr B V Jadhav, M A, LL B, M L C, Minister in charge of Agriculture

2 Mr M Hesketh, M A, I E S, Deputy Director of Public Instruction

3 Mr A M Macmillan, C I E, M A, I C S, Collector, Ahmednagar

4 Mr K S Vakil, B A, M Ed, I E S, Educational Inspector, Northern Division, Ahmedabad

5 Mr K A Kshirsagar, B A, S T C D, Head Master, Training School, Nasik

6 Miss R Navalkar, B A, I E S, Lady Supdt, Training College for Women, Poona

7 Mr S D Contractor, B A, Acting Educational Inspector in Sind, Karachi

8 Mr J S Kadri, B A, I E S, Educational Inspector, Southern Division, Dharwar

Non-Official.

1 Khan Bahadur D B Cooper, Chairman, District School Board, Satara

2 Khan Bahadur Shah Nawaz Khan Ghulam Murtaza Khan Bhutto, C I E, O B E, M L C, President, District Local Board, Larkana

3 Miss M E Newton, Lady Superintendent, Methodist Teachers' Training College, Godhra.

4 Mr V D Ghate, M A, B T, School Board Administrative Officer, District Local Board, Ahmednagar

5 Mr R W Doran Aikin, Bishop's High School, Poona

6 Rev H K Wright, M A, B D, Principal, Union Training College, Ahmednagar

7 Miss J L Latham, M A, Lady Supdt, St Monica's Training College for Women, Ahmednagar

8 Professor K R Kanitkar, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona

9 Lady Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Nilkanth, M B E, Ahmedabad

10 Dr N A F Moos, D Sc, F R S E, L C E, Bombay

11 Mr G M Desai, Nadiad

12 Mrs Jankibai Bhat, Lady Supdt, Poona Seva Sadan

Bengal

Official.

1 Mr A J Dash, B A, I C S, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department
2 Mr H E Stapleton, M A, B Sc, I E S, Offg Director of Public Instruction
3 Miss M V Irons, M A, I E S, Inspectress of Schools, Dacca.
4 Mr H A Stark, Officiating Inspector of European Schools
5 Mr J M Sen, Additional Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division
6 Dr W. A Jenkins, D Sc, I E S, Special Educational Officer
7 Mr R B Ramsbotham, M B E, D Ph, I E.S., Principal, Presidency College
8 Dr M P West, M A, D Ph, I E S, Principal, Training College, Dacca

Non-Official.

1 Rev G F Cranswick, Middle School, Chapra
2 Prof J N Gangulee, C I E, Calcutta University
3 Miss Rivett, Principal, United Mission School, Calcutta
4 Mrs P K Ray
5 Mr L C Winckler, B A, Head Master, Railway School, Bengal Nagpur Railway, Kharagpur,
6 Mr L C Le Patourel, La Martinière College, Calcutta,
7 Mr C Keelor, Boys' School, Allahabad,

} representing the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association

8 Rev Dr W S Urquhart, D D, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University
9 Mr W C Wordsworth, M A, I E S, (retd), Calcutta
10 Mr J W Holme, M A, I E S (retd), Principal, La Martinière College, Calcutta
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12 Sardar Jodh Singh, } Professors of the } representing the Chief

13 Sardar Teja Singh } Khalsa College, } Khalsa Diwan

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15 Mrs Shave, Albert Victor Hospital, Lahore

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